Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-004
Friday
5 January 1990

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CSSR's Klaus on CEMA Breakup, Withdrawal

LD0401160190 Prague CTK in English 1301 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw Jan 4 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia is decided to propose the dissolution of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) at its next session in Sofia, Czechoslovak Minister of finance Vaclav Klaus said in an interview published today by the Polish government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA.

The Czechoslovak minister said that Poland, where he was on Wednesday, will support most proposals connected with this question.

Vaclav Klaus said that the CMEA should be replaced by something else but on condition of radical changes which should be presented by participants in the Sofia session. It seems, however, that there is no hope for the establishment of any multilateral system. The CMEA will probably split into bilateral groups, Vaclav Klaus said.

Czechoslovakia will propose to rescind many formerly signed agreements, Vaclav Klaus said. In case this proposal is not accepted Czechoslovakia will withdraw individually, he added. Czechoslovak and Polish partners have agreed that they are ready to immediately establish bilateral relations, inter alia to agree on a new relation towards the zloty without the mediation of the rouble.

Vaclav Klaus said that the basic target of the Czechoslovak economy in the nearest future is the protection of its good positions. It is necessary to oppose any hasty actions or decisions such as for instance the decision to open the borders with Austria, which caused an influx of tourists in both directions and buying up of goods in shops.

As regards the future, the basic aim is to establish market economy. Czechoslovakia cannot, however, return to proposals which were good in 1968, such as "mixed economy" proposed by Ota Sik or "socialism with human face". Now is not the year 1968 but rather 1948, Vaclav Klaus said.

He stressed that the country can use experiences of other countries, including Poland, while realizing these targets.

Klaus Clarifies Stance

LD0401220790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Czechoslovakia is the lead item today on the pages of the Polish government newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA. Our correspondent, Petr Lukes, has this report from Warsaw:

[Begin Lukes recording] Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus gave an extensive interview to the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA during his 1-day visit to Warsaw. The biggest sensation was caused by Vaclav Klaus' statement that Czechoslovakia had decided to submit a request at next week's session in Sofia for CEMA to be dissolved. According to Finance Minister Balcerowicz, the Polish side will support this request. If the request is rejected at the Sofia session, Czechoslovakia will withdraw from CEMA unilaterally. The Czechoslovak minister went on to say that there was no hope of forming an effective, modern, multilateral system. Vaclav Klaus believes that CEMA will split into bilateral groups.

The latest developments in our country have resulted in Poland's sharply increased interests in cooperation with Czechoslovakia. Today's issue of RZECZPOSPOLITA carries an editorial article commenting on a speech by Zbigniew Brezinski proposing the setting- up of a Polish-Czechoslovak federation. Closer cooperation between the two countries with certain institutional forms, it writes, takes on a special meaning given the prospect of the further unification of Germany. Our countries still represent a considerable potential, and Czechoslovakia, RZECZPOSPOLITA writes, as a country which is not in debt and has a strong, albeit not very up-to-date industry, is a natural partner for us. The newspaper sees Poland's contribution as one of developing economic relations with the West, and of promoting greater progress in the mechanism of a market economy. If the Czechoslovak finance minister is considering the possibility of his country withdrawing from CEMA, Poland is obliged to ask him the immediate question: What instead? RZECZPOSPOLITA thus is criticizing the way the Polish Government is dragging its feet on the issue of developing specific economic contacts with Czechoslovakia, taking the view that this is an opportunity that should not be wasted. That is why it attributes considerable importance to the announcement that Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has accepted an invitation to Prague, adding that this will be the first foreign visit at the prime ministerial level since the developments in Czechoslovakia at the end of last year. [end recording]

At today's news conference following the federal government session, we asked Minister Vaclav Klaus about the statement Petr Lukes has just discussed. He replied by outlining what Czechoslovakia would be proposing at the CEMA session in Sofia:

[Begin Klaus recording] It is absolutely clear to us that CEMA cannot exist in its current form, and that there is no fundamental reason why it should exist in this form. The Czechoslovak side intends to present a whole series of initiatives, so it is absolutely clear—and I say this quite freely—that from the multilateral or mutual point of view, I do not think that we are able to create any kind of fundamental, deep integration, nor do I think that this is what most of the parties will be pushing for. As as far as the multilateral aspect is concerned, there will be a greater emphasis on negotiation, coordination, agreement, advice, and we think that most of these activities will shift to a bilateral basis. [end recording]

Official Explains CEMA Policy

LD0501115490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Is it true that Czechoslovakia intends to leave CEMA? Evelyn Forro, our Prague correspondent, interviewed one of the most competent officials in Prague to answer this question, the deputy minister of finance. The answer: Not today, but....

[Begin Forro recording] Regretfully a Polish paper misquoted the [Czechoslovak] finance minister. It was on this basis that the news, according to which Czechoslovakia proposes the dissolution of CEMA or contemplates leaving it, has become public.

This is what Deputy Minister of Finance Pavelka said in response to my question. He also emphasized that in Prague's view, CEMA cannot remain in its present form in the long term. Closer economic integration is not possible, and it would be much better if it were to take the form of bilateral agreements. Pavelka added that at the next CEMA consultations next week in Sofia, they will propose the annulment of the three fundamental agreements which refer to finances and prices. The CSSR believes that a different relationship must be formed between the koruna and the currencies of other East European states.

If the partners do not accept its proposal, Prague will consider unilaterally abrogating these agreements with CEMA member states, Deputy Minister of Finance Pavelka said.

Still, it must be noted that almost all Czechoslovak papers published the statement of Minister of Finance Klaus which he gave to the Polish paper [RZECZPOSPOLITA]. [end recording]

CEMA's Sychev Speaks at Sofia News Conference

AU0401203490 Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance should radically restructure its activity and its mechanisms of cooperation, said Mr Vyacheslav Sychev, secretary of the CMEA.

At a press conference held here in connection with the 45th Session of the CMEA scheduled for January 9-10, 1990 Mr Sychev pointed out that during the session attention shall be focussed on this problem. He gave the reasons for a radical restructuring in the system of interaction under the new conditions, mentioning the sweeping socio-political changes in the European CMEA member- countries.

I think that first of all the delegations will exchange views and concepts of the restructuring of the mechanism of our multilateral cooperation, for placing it on an economic basis by making wide use of planning and commodity-money mechanisms, he said. This approach is in compliance with the new tasks and conditions of economic interaction.

Mr Vyacheslav Sychev draw attention to the increasingly wider application of the principle of being interested in cooperation, i.e. Those who are ready for it should participate in a given project.

He specified that some other problems including the coordination of the national economic plans and the improvement of other forms of cooperation will be also discussed at the session.

Strikes Break Out Over Muslim Issue

AU0501074790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Georgi Dalev, our reporter in Kurdzhali, reports that the parliamentary governmental group there has begun its work on the proposals related to the ethnic problem. The people's deputies will visit enterprises and offices for talks with the labor collectives.

In the meantime, Mincho Minchev, member of the Coordination Council of the United Bulgaria Committee of Patriotic Forces, reports that all economic enterprises in Kurdzhali have been on strike since 0000 today. The personnel of the city hospital, as well as the collectives of enterprises with interrupted production, such as the lead-zinc plant, the bread-producing plant, and the electric power plant, have announced a strike that is symbolic only.

Strikes Spread

AU0501093690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] More than 10 major economic enterprises and companies in Ruse are participating in the symbolic strike throughout the day in support of the declarations and meetings of the population in Kurdzhali, Khaskovo, and Razgrad, and express their disagreement with the 29 December decision of party and state organs on the nationality issue.

According to incomplete information at 0930, the collectives of the machine-building combine, the ready-made clothes plant, the "Georgi Dimitrov" Agrarian Machines-Producing Plant, Petur Karaminchev Company, and others are participating in the strike.

Several dozen Ruse shipyard workers are also participating in the strike. They are demonstrating in front of the Ruse Party Headquarters, carrying Bulgarian national flags and chanting "Bulgaria to the Bulgarians!"

The collective of the machine-tractor shop in Tryavna are also demonstrating against the decision of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the nationality issue. The collective is participating in the symbolic strike.

Many working collectives in Razgrad today announced symbolic strikes in support of the strikes in Kurdzhali. The collectives of Industrial Microbiology Enterprise, the "Orel" Plant, the "Diamant" Company, the canned food combine, and others are striking.

At the moment more than 5,000 people are demonstrating in Popovo's central square against the decision on the nationality issue. Many enterprises are participating in the symbolic strike.

In Turgovishte's central square, thousands of people are participating in a rally. The airport in Turgovishte interrupted its work this morning from 0500 to 0800, and serviced only medical aircraft.

The strike in the "Energiya" company developed from a symbolic into a real one. The workers of other collectives in Turgovishte are also leaving their places of work, and head toward the city square.

The collectives of the "Arsenal" Company, the "Georgi Kirkov" Plant, and the "Hydraulics" Enterprise in Kazanluk; the "Shipka" Company in Novi Pazar, and others are also participating in the symbolic strike.

Tension Rises

AU0501105690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Since yesterday we have directly reported the mass meetings in Sofia and throughout the country, at which dissatisfaction is expressed with the inconsistent policy on the nationality issue. Our correspondents report:

For the fifth day the situation in Kurdzhali continues to be tense and alarming. Our reporter Georgi Dalev reports about the developments during the first hours of the day:

[Begin Dalev recording] The appeal to hold a symbolic strike in the enterprises and offices, which was made yesterday at about 1500 at one of the two rallies, was accepted by all labor collectives and employees. Today the entire population of the city is on strike. Furthermore, the symbolic strike developed into a real one. This means that the labor process was interrupted in all enterprises. Only the dairy and bread-producing plants, the regional hospital and the lead-zinc enterprise, where the strike is only symbolic, are an exception. The biggest enterprises are not functioning. The "Iskren" and "Dimitur Blagoev" plants, the vehicle repair enterprise, the "Captain Petko Voevoda" enterprise and others are not functioning. About 50 percent of the workers of the "Orpheus" and [name indistinct] Enterprises announced a real strike. The construction material shops of the trade system are functioning. The strike there is of a symbolic nature. The collectives of all other shops joined the real strike.

The drivers of the "Avtotransport-South" Company have joined the strike. Thus the entire public transportation in the city was paralyzed. Not a single bus of the inner-city lines is operating. Not a single bus left for the towns in the regions. The bus to Sofia was the only exception.

A convoy of more than 150 vehicles, and perhaps even much more—it was impossible to count them— left this morning for an improvised trip throughout the country. The trip will end on 7 January at St Aleksandur Nevski Square in Sofia.

In the meantime, the governmental parliamentary group that arrived here yesterday is visiting enterprises, offices, educational establishments, and the regional hospital for meetings with labor collectives. A part of the group departed for Krumovgrad and Kirkovo. In the afternoon, the people's deputies will receive citizens who have proposals related to resolving the nationality issues. Two reception offices have been set up for this purpose in the buildings of the municipal people's council and the Fatherland Front.

I shall end my first report today with the announcement that at 1300 in front of the Culture Club a rally of the city, working people will begin.

This is the atmosphere in Kurdzhali so far. Let me add two brief reports. During the night there were no violations of the public order. On 9 September Square, about 3,500 citizens, representatives of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population in the city are conducting their rally. [end recording]

Today in Khaskovo there are no buses. The workers from Dimitrovgrad and the villages arrived with their private vehicles. They announced a general strike in support of the declarations of the rallies and against the decisions of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, which they described as too hasty. The construction workers of the "Marta" Company, the entire northern industrial area of the city, and the "Rodina" and the soft drinks-producing enterprises are on strike.

We have also received reports on symbolic and real strikes from Turgovishte, Shumen, Smolyan, Varna, Sliven, Provadiya, and Devnya, where the workers of the mechanical repair plant are also striking.

The workers and specialists of "Stroyprodukt" Department of the "Zagorets" Company in Stara Zagora began their work today while wearing a tricolor ribbon on their sleeve, thus announcing a symbolic strike in protest against the decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers. The workers of the automatic telephone exchange of the Stara Zagora Communication Equipment Plant are conducting a real strike. The workers of the "Maritsa-East" Economic Trust are also protesting against the decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers.

This is the opinion of power supply worker Aleksandur Chernev from the "First Komsomol" electric shop:

[Begin Chernev recording] Recently we all saw on television and heard on the radio that new associations, parties, and formations are being formed. However, we did not see anybody presenting a program on how to resolve the situation. We all know the economic situation, yet nobody is proposing anything specific for improving the economy. I cannot see anybody. Furthermore, all those who want freedom and who feel free are participating in rallies. But, we, the workers in Bulgaria's power supply system, have not participated in rallies and do not strike. People should be aware of the fact that they are the only people who are working with dignity at their workplaces and who are fulfilling their obligations. Therefore, people should think about them and understand their situation.

Now about my personal opinion on restoring the names of the Muslims: Those people sold us for one piece of silver. In the most complicated situation, when was time to harvest, they abandoned us in the most vulgar manner. However, we demonstrated that we are proud Bulgarians. We did not bend our backs and implemented everything. Not a single crop remained unharvested. Not a single plan was not implemented. Instead of 8 we worked 12 hours; however, we showed that we are Bulgarians. I disagree with the decision of the Politburo. [end recording]

About 1 hour ago representatives of the citizens of Kurdzhali, Razgrad, Khaskovo, and other cities throughout Bulgaria, who arrived in Sofia yesterday for their rally in front of the National Assembly, came to the Bulgarian Radio and handed in an appeal to the Bulgarian citizens. At the moment a rally is beginning in front of the National Assembly building, at which they are calling upon all Sofia citizens to support them, and demonstrate national awareness. This is their appeal:

[Begin Kamen Garunev recording] I am a representative of the 4 January meeting in front of the Aleksandur Nevski Church, and the group that kept vigil throughout the night in front of the National Assembly building. My name is Kamen Garunev and I am archdeacon in the St Kharalampi Church. Brothers and sisters, Bulgarians. You may call yourselves Bulgarians, Muslims, whatever you want. We appeal to all those who feel themselves Bulgarians. Since the government did not support our appeal for a referendum on the nationality issue we declare a national strike until a correct decision is adopted. In the name of our holy motherland we appeal to all of you to find the Bulgarian elements inside you, and support us. Then, despite the fact that nobody has asked us what we think about the nationality issue, and how we live along the southern border, and regardless of the fact that the destiny of the people is being determined without asking the people, Bulgaria will survive!

We cannot get the Bulgarian radio broadcasts where we live. However, Sofia citizens brought newspapers to us this morning, and there we saw that our problem is not being properly presented. We see that many different committees already exist. We do not want to take over the government or to conduct election campaigns. We do not want to be TV stars. We came to express our pain, because entire enterprises and plants in the provinces are striking. Their collectives also include Turkish-speaking people—I actually do not know any longer what word to use, because if so, can you call the Christian Bulgarians Bulgarian-speaking citizens? What kind of a concept is this? We came to demand that a referendum be held. I declare this in the most responsible manner. I have seen many people whom I know to be Turkish-speaking come to our church. Even before the tourist campaign they

came and made the sign of the cross. They are also coming now. What shall we say to them? There are people who have come back from Turkey. They are also coming to the church and are making the sign of the cross. I know at least two such families. What guarantee is there that those people will not be convinced by the fanatics in the opposite way? [end recording]

[Begin Ognyan Nedyalkov recording] My name is Ognyan Nedyalkov. I am a citizen of Kubrat City in Razgrad Oblast, and I came because I want to appeal to all Bulgarians, all mothers, fathers, grandmothers, and grandfathers, to work for the unity of Bulgaria. [end recording]

[Begin recording of unidentified woman] The most painful place is now where I live. I left my children and came to defend Mother Bulgaria. Human rights must be not resolved at the expense of the nationality issue. Let us first think about the nation, about Bulgaria. [end recording]

[Begin Konstantin Poptodorov recording] We Sofia citizens agree with our brothers. Mistakes accumulated in anything related to the nationality issue throughout the years. I do not only mean recent years, but the period of 45 years. We think that we must show ourselves and Europe once and for all that we are, first of all, Bulgarians and only then Europeans. Democracy means first national elements, and only then international elements. My name is Dr Konstantin Poptodorov and I am chairman of the Patriotic "Rodina" Organization. [end recording]

Three of the participants in the meeting we just reported announced a hunger strike until a lasting solution is found for the nationality issue.

In connection with the numerous telephone calls to the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and Bulgarian Radio related to the strike that was announced yesterday in Kurdzhali, we received an announcement by the Commission on the Ethnic Crisis at the Trade Unions Central Council on the strike that was announced for today. We have on the telephone Lazar Vulknev, leader of the group on liaisons with the mass media.

[Begin Vulknev recording] Yesterday, in the last TV newscast, the opinion of the Commission on the Ethnic Crisis at the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council on the general strike announced for today in Kurdzhali was reported. Many questions have been addressed to the Central Council by many trade union organizations and members, and dissatisfaction with the position that was assumed was expressed. Therefore, we would again like to announce the position of the Central Council commission: We recommend to the trade union organizations and members, who have decided to express their civic attitude to this issue, to do it in a symbolic manner at their places of work without interrupting the production process, and demonstrate their position and participation by wearing a tricolor ribbon on their sleeves. [end recording]

This is a part of the political picture in the country today. In further reports we shall continue to present it objectively. However, let us repeat what we said at the end of the previous year: Striking is hardly the most suitable means of resolving the problems that have emerged.

Fundamentalism Raises Concern

AU0501082290 Sofia BTA in English 2140 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Demonstrators Insist on National Problem Referendum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—Thousands of people from all over the country arrived today in the capital to demand guarantees for Bulgaria's unity, sovereignty and integrity.

Bulgarians from Khaskovo, Kurdzhali, Smolyan, Razgrad, Asenovgrad and other towns and regions where there is Muslim population insist on holding a referendum on Bulgaria's national problems. They protested against the non-democratic way in which the decisions of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], of the State Council and the Council of Ministers concerning the names of the Muslim and Turkish-speaking population were adopted. According to most of the speakers at the rally in front of the National Assembly the official authorities, the opposition Union of Democratic Forces and the Podkrepa Independent Federation of Labour took hasty and harmful for the country's national interests actions pursuing mercenary political ends of their own.

The petitions handed in to a representative of the parliament contain demands for a law which will guarantee the status of the Bulgarian language as the official national language. Fears are expressed that fanaticized elements will make use of the decisions concerning the free choice of names for fanning up Islamic fundamentalisms among the Bulgarian Muslims. It is unanimously demanded that an agreement should be signed which will make it possible for the fanaticized Islamic fundamentalists to emigrate from Bulgaria.

MP Vladimir Kalaydzhiev to whom the petitions were handed familiarized the representatives of the rally with the decision prepared by the National Assembly in which the inviolability of Bulgaria's territorial integrity and sovereignty are categorically defended and which will guarantee the rights of all Bulgarian citizens.

A rally with similar demands is going on in Kurdzhali where a group of National Assembly deputies arrived today.

A great part of the production in this city situated in southern Bulgaria has been suspended. Columns of cars with fluttering national flags are running along its streets.

Dimitur Ignatov, chairman of the Committee for Civic Unity, has stated to the BTA that the committee canceled its appeal for a general strike tomorrow, as its demands, including that for a meeting with State Council President Petur Mladenov, have been accepted. But the rally in Kurdzhali is still insisting on a general strike with which solidarity is expressed in cables sent by labour collectives from all over the country.

National Assembly deputies attended the rally organized by the Muslim population in Kurdzhali at which calls were made for guaranteeing the free choice of names, freedom of religion and all other rights of the Bulgarian citizens.

Unrest in Kurdzhali

AU0401172790 Sofia Domestic Servce in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] We continue to follow events in Kurdzhali, where demonstrations connected with the decisions of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers on overcoming the abuses committed against the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population have not subsided.

The overwhelming majority of the town population refuses to accept the aforementioned decisions. In response to appeals urging a strike, work has practically stopped in numerous enterprises as of 1500 local time.

Two parliamentary groups are presently in Kurdzhali, but it is becoming evident that they have not been successful in their efforts to calm down the citizens. We are awaiting more news on further developments in that town.

Khaskovo 'Protest Convoy'

AU0401150390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] A protest convoy composed of 12 buses, private automoblies, and citizens is heading from Khaskovo to Sofia. They are carrying a message from their town that was adopted at two rallies with the participation of 20,000 working people, urging the National Assembly to adopt a decision on decisive national issues after a people's referendum. The participants in the convoy will attend a rally in Sofia, presumably the one that was announced by reporter Yasen Indzhev a short while ago.

A declaration was given to the Pleven correspondent's center of the Bulgarian radio by the collective of the Khristo Smirnenski School, which says that teachers and students of that school are supporting the demands of the Kurdzhali area citizens that were submitted to a rally held on 2 January in Sofia.

Silistra citizens insist upon a nationwide referendum on the national issue. In declarations and telegrams from labor collectives to the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers, it is stressed that the decisions are too hasty and not well thought out. Some extremist demands were also voiced, but the opinion prevailed that the country's problems should be resolved through legitimate and peaceful means.

Rallies and meetings were held in the Dulovo Municipality of Razgrad Oblast, in the Dimitur Donchev Plant, in the Agricultural Equipment Plant, in the fodder plant, in the local cooperative union, and in other labor collectives. Concern was expressed that the aforementioned decisions may turn into a chain reaction of mistakes.

Sofia Demonstration

AU0401150290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Let us hear a live relay from the Sofia National Assembly Square, where reporter Yasen Indzhev is present.

[Indzhev] At this moment, approximately 1,500 people have gathered here, on National Assembly Square, who have arrived from Razgrad and from the Razgrad area. They claim to be authorized by their fellow citizens to declare their disagreement with the decision of the State Council and Council of Ministers adopted on 29 December 1989, and they have handed over to me a declaration of requests that they are supposed to submit in a short while to the National Assembly. Let me read a few lines from this declaration:

We insist that the National Assembly, at its forthcoming session, should adopt a decision on reviewing the problems of national consensus and unity, after holding free and democratic elections. The proposal on solving these questions should be submitted to nationwide discussion. I will also read some other slogans and requests for referendum, for example, "Turks out of Bulgaria." These are very extremist slogans from both sides.

A little while ago the Razgrad group was joined by a group of Kurdzhali citizens. Some people claim that representatives from Khaskovo are also present somewhere here on the square, but esteemed colleague Stefanov, I do not know whether you remember this, but today at 1203 local time, when I reported on the session of the National Assembly Commission, I reported the facts on which the National Assembly deputies and the representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces and of independent associations have agreed upon. They agreed on one question, namely that at this stage today, it is more than ever necessary to express political culture, wisdom, and as I said, before, even humanitarianism. This is what we need today, I think.

Another rally is expected to take place nearby, in a short while. This rally is organized by an initiative committee composed of members of independent associations and other citizens with requests for human rights, democracy, freedom of conscience, for Bulgaria belonging to the European cultural community, and various other

demands. These rallies are taking place on both sides of the National Assembly building, and a group of citizens has also invited people to attend another rally at about 1700 local time, near the Bulgarian National Bank building.

As you can hear, passions are escalating here and many slogans are being chanted.

Public Shows Disapproval

AU0401214990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Throughout the day we have been receiving reports on rallies held all over the country in connection with the decisions of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers on the ethnic problem.

Total or partial disapproval on this decision is prevailing. This afternoon, public representatives from Razgrad, Dimitrovgrad, Khaskovo, Botevgrad, Shumen, Novi Pazar, and other places arrived in Sofia and, together with the citizens from Kurdzhali, who arrived yesterday, held rallies in front of the National Assembly Building, the Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral, and the Bulgarian National Bank in order to express their dissatisfaction with the decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers adopted on 29 December 1989.

Later on, the rallies elected their own representatives who met Vladimir Kalaydzhiev, chairman of the National Assembly Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights Commission, to whom they submitted a declaration from their fellow citizens.

Throughout the day we informed you on events in Kurdzhali. The latest news, which we just received from our correspondent Georgi Dalev, does not add anything to what we already know.

The rally in front of the Municipal People's Council continues. Telegrams from labor collectives all over the country are being read at this rally, supporting the demands of the Kurdzhali citizens. Numerous new proclamations are proposed, with additional or repetitive proposals addressed to the National Assembly and government.

National Assembly Deputies [illegible]o Fuchedzhiev and Ilcho Dimitrov are reported speaking to the demonstrators. It has become evident that the parliamentary government group will start working on all proposals submitted as of tomorrow, while the members of the group are expected at the same time to visit enterprises and offices, where they are supposed to have discussions with labor collectives.

It was announced to the participants in the rally that already over 5,000 leva in donations have been received for the group that is expected to leave early tomorrow morning for Sofia in an automobile convoy, in order to submit its demands to the government. The rally continues without any schedule, and no one can yet predict how long it will last.

Rally Supports Dialogue

AU0501082790 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 3 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Readiness for Nationwide Dialogue"]

[Text] An initiative committee organized a large rally in Khaskovo on 2 January. The participants in the rally declared their wholehearted readiness for a constructive, nationwide dialogue as the only correct method of adopting decisions determining the fate of the entire nation. The participants in the rally adopted a declaration on the subject in which they stressed that a dialogue is the only possible means of eliminating distrust among the people belonging to the Islamic community and the rest of their fellow citizens in that particular region of the country.

Roundtable Expresses Views on Ethnic Issue

AU0501080090 Sofia BTA in English 2120 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Joint Declaration of Bulgarian Political and Public Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—The political and public organizations which took part in the preliminary consultations on the roundtable talks express their full support for the joint resolution of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria adopted on December 29, 1989 to eliminate the consequences of the violations of the rights of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim Bulgarian citizens committed in 1984, it is said in the joint declaration of the political and public organizations in the country. The declaration is signed by the leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces, the ruling parties and 23 political and public organizations.

This decision is an act of political bravery and fully corresponds to the aspirations of the Bulgarian people to make a total break with the heavy heritage left over by Todor Zhivkov's totalitarian regime, to build a democratic humane society and establish a law-abiding state.

This is the only correct way to ensure the unity of the Bulgarian nation on the basis of respecting every citizen's dignity and rights without any discrimination by absolutely adhering to law and fulfilling the country's obligations ensuing from the universal declaration of human rights, the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and other international agreements and the accords of the all-European process reached at the meetings in Helsinki, Madrid and Vienna.

Freedom and basic human rights cannot be the privilege of only part of the nation. Now when we are on the way

to getting free of totalitarianism we must fight against and say "no" to all actions aimed at undermining the unity of the people, it is said in the declaration.

The necessary basis for national unification requires to guarantee Bulgaria's territorial integrity and unity, her national independence and the security of the people. We are convinced that there is no room for any form of separatism here and there will never be. Bulgaria is the motherland of all Bulgarian citizens.

Now efficient measures must be taken to rectify the abuses, to strictly respect everybody's right to choose their names freely, to guarantee the freedom of religion and people's right to use other languages besides the official Bulgarian language in everyday life communication and observe their traditional customs and rites. It is necessary to make a total break with everything which may prevent any Bulgarian citizen to enjoy the equal rights proclaimed by the Constitution and the law. We call upon the National Assembly to adopt measures, based on nationwide concord, which will help strengthen the national unity and will result in reconciliation and concord. The state bodies must provide protection for all citizens and ensure public peace in all regions of the country, it is said in the declaration.

The document makes an appeal to all Bulgarian citizens to jointly exert every possible effort for national reconciliation and concord and for turning Bulgaria into a democratic, humane and law-abiding state.

Grand Mufti Discusses Return of Turks

LD0401183390 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The overthrown, former Bulgarian leadership is trying to make use of the nationalistic and anti-Turkish mood in the country. There have been demonstrations in Bulgaria against the decision of the country's present leadership to allow the return of expelled Bulgarian Turks. The Yleisradio [Finnish Broadcasting Company] correspondent, Markus Leikola, has interviewed in Sofia the grand mutfi of Muslims in Bulgaria, Nedyo Gedzhikov, who says that one-third of those expelled have already returned.

[Begin Leikola recording] The spiritual leader of the Islamic believers in Bulgaria, Grand Mufti Nedyo Gedzhikov, said in a Yleisradio interview that 100,000 Bulgarian Turks have already returned to their home districts. Last summer, altogether, 300,000 Bulgarian Turks fled from oppression to Turkey. More are returning at the rate of more than 500 people per day, but the problem is emerging that the nationalistic Bulgars do not view the returnees favorably, rather the contrary. In the southern parts of the country, in the town of Kurdzhali, 10,000 ultranationalists demonstrated a fews days ago, and at the moment three separate demonstrations are under way here in Sofia. In the streets of Sofia posters have also been seen demanding a national referendum on the restoration of rights to the Turks. The nationalists demand that the government decide on the referendum by 1700 hours this afternoon, but there is no information yet about the response. Agreement would, however, be very strange because the government already decided, immediately following the overthrow of the Stalinist power in November, that the religious rights of the Turks will be returned. On 28 December the Turks were also given permission to assume their old Islamic names, which was banned during the last years of the country's former party leader, Todor Zhivkov.

Grand Mufti Gedzhikov, for his part, regards the entire ideas of a national referendum as contrary to human rights and the Constitution. In his view, it is only a question of the local leaders, appointed by the previous powers, trying to hang on to the remnants of their power. The next few days will show whether the very tense and aggravated situation in the country's southern parts will become bloody, for tomorrow the nationalists will organize a general strike in the Turkish areas and the party leaders of the old school are prepared to go very far in their agitation, although the central leadership of the country swears in the name of glasnost, like the Soviet Union.

Markus Leikola, Sofia. [end recording]

Assembly Commission Discusses Ethnic Issue

AU0401152890 Sofia BTA in English 1449 GMT 4 Jan 90

["National Concord and Reconciliation Needed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian MPs declared themselves to be for national concord and reconciliation, for the unity of all Bulgarian citizens, public-spirited political consciousness and maturity in the name of correcting past mistakes and preventing the recidivism by common efforts. The reason for these appeals is the conviction of the people's deputies members of the Parliamentary Commission for the Protection of Public Interests and Human Rights, that it is necessary to take energetic and adequate measures for rectifying the abuses committed by the totalitarian regime with respect to people's right to choose their names, their right to freedom of religion and usage of other languages beside the official one in their everyday life, their right to keep traditional customs and rites.

The leaderships of other parliamentary commissions and representatives of the new political structures in the country also took part in the session. A draft for the decision of the National Assembly on the questions raised was discussed. The draft will be presented for approval at the forthcoming session of the Bulgarian Parliament.

The animated debates, the numerous proposals pressed the view that the document should be elaborated and

discussed once more by the parliamentary commission with the broadest possible participation of representatives of the public.

Politburo Statement on Muslim Issue

AU0501091790 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 3 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Statement "Along the Path of National Unity and Consensus" on the Bulgarian Muslim issue released by the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo in Sofia on 2 January]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo reviewed the first steps in connection with clarifying and implementing the decisions concerning abuses committed in relations with the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population in our country.

The various aspects of the response to and of the work accomplished in connection with the implementation of the decision adopted by the plenum, and also in connection with the joint decision adopted by the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, were soberly and realistically discussed and evaluated. Without trying to simplify the situation and without dramatizing it, but also without overlooking the emerging trends, the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee made the following basic assessments on the initial steps in connection with clarifying and implementing the aforementioned decisions.

1. The overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian people, representing the workers class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia, expressed their positive approach and unmistakably voiced their support for the decisions adopted. The decisions are assessed as correct and timely, and even as belated, to a certain extent, not only in the context of overcoming the gross abuses of the past, but also in connection with averting dangerous events for our people that were beginning to develop in our country and that already had occurred in other countries.

This approach to the decision adopted by the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers is characteristic not only for the overwhelming majority of settlements inhabited by Bulgarian-speaking people, but also for the majority of settlements with mixed populations in Plovdiv, Varna, and other oblasts. It is natural, under such circumstances, that no unrest has been established in any part of our country, that the situation is normal, and reflects a high degree of political maturity and civic responsibility, as well as trends of growing common sense and a realistic approach that were manifested not only by our citizens, but also by our party organs, our public and state institutions.

The Politburo expresses its profound gratitude to all those who expressed and continue to express their lofty party, social, and civic consciousness, wisdom, and a sense of responsibility in this difficult period and in connection with this exceptionally controversial—and in some respects even dramatic—problem of restructuring in our country.

2. People in certain places and in certain areas of our country, and even some individual cadres and social circles, some primary party organizations, and even some municipal BCP organs, manifest concern or express their disagreement with the decision—namely, both as regards the procedure of its adoption and its substance. This applies to the aktivs in certain municipalities of Razgrad Oblast, and of Kurzhali, in particular.

The Politburo is not trying to dramatize the situation. It evaluates this controversial reaction as not unexpected, and to a certain extent even inevitable, especially since it is related to a radical denouncement and rejection of abuses committed in the recent past in this complicated sphere of social and human relations. Along with this, the Politburo expresses its confidence that even in the aforementioned circles emotions and inappropriate evaluations shall be replaced by common sense for the sake of the peaceful and successful settlement of conflicts that have accumulated in that area.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo appeals to the Kurdzhali population, urging them firmly to proceed along the path of reconciliation, good intentions, mutual assistance, and cooperation for the further construction of this ancient Bulgarian region. All other methods are harmful and dangerous for the Kurdzhali population, for yourselves, and for your children, dear compatriots, and for our motherland—the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

3. The BCP Central Committee Politburo especially points out and expresses its high appreciation for the generosity, patriotism, and the spirit of confidence in which the overwheming majority of the Bulgarian-speaking population throughout the country welcomes the aforementioned decision. The Politburo appreciates the attitude that this population has always manifested in its relations with the Turkish-speaking people with whom it lived in peace, consensus, and joint labor throughout the centuries.

Chauvinistic demonstrations and slogans are treated with disapproval and sharp criticism by the population, and this is a guarantee for the correct and successful development of the initiated process related to the implementation of a new people's policy on this issue.

4. The BCP Central Committee Politburo stresses that the party has full understanding for and supports those citizens of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population, especially those belonging to the younger generation, who would like to preserve their recent names on a voluntary basis. They shall not only be supported, but also protected by all instruments of legislation and by all principles of our social ethics.

Along with this, the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee declares that it does not find anything negative about the feelings of joy expressed by those members of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population who wished to restore their old names on a voluntary basis. This opportunity shall be granted to all of them.

The important thing now is that this part of the population should correctly understand the party's slogan on national unity, reconciliation, and consensus, and that nationalistic and other adventurous manifestations should be resolutely resisted.

5. The Politburo stresses with great satisfaction the positive reaction and the constructive role played by our young men and women in adopting and accomplishing the first steps related to the implementation of the aforementioned decisions.

6. The BCP Central Committee Politburo once more appeals to the Bulgarian Bulgarian-speaking population and the Bulgarian Turkish-speaking population, urging them to avoid any confrontation between them, and to avoid yielding to provocations, threats, old offenses, or bitterness. Certain opportunities exist for such things. Nevertheless, the supreme national duty and the interests of our homeland require the people's unity, reconciliation, and consensus today. Whoever does not comply with this will encounter the resistance of all those who cherish Bulgaria, the restructuring process, and the renewal of our society.

7. The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee once more emphasizes that local party, public, state, and other leaders are not politically responsible for the past decision on changing names. The attempts of insinuating to them that they are "abandoned," or have been "sacrificed," can only be estimated as ill-intentioned in the present circumstances. People who have really committed illegal acts and have practiced corruption in implementing the profoundly erroneous policy of the Todor Zhivkov regime on this issue are precisely the ones responsible for such attempts.

Local leaders and all other Bulgarian citizens are still and continue to be under the strong and strict protection of the laws adopted in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the new party policy. Anyone who is trying to stir up confrontation, who speculates, or is involved in political intrigues on this issue shall meet the party's firm resistance.

8. It is now required that all party organizations and cadres should be clearly aware of their tasks and respond to their national responsibility on these exceptionally important issues of restructuring today. Regardless of how difficult the solution of these problems might be, the party has enough strength to distance itself from the gross abuses committed during the Todor Zhivkov regime and to overcome them.

The main thing today is to engage in honest, principled, and constructive efforts in connection with substantiating, explaining, and implementing the new party policy developed at the December Plenum in 1989. Every Communist is expected to contribute his share to this cause, and this applies to all patriots, all public and state functionaries, to all our generations, young and old. Their contribution will be highly appreciated.

9. On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo appeals to workers, peasants, and to the intelligentsia, to all Bulgarian people, for support and active participation in the struggle to overcome the committed abuses, to achieve a strong and lasting unity of our people so that the integrity and security of our motherland may be preserved.

We must firmly say "no" to all kinds of nationalism, to chauvinsin, and Islamic fundamentalism.

We must firmly say "yes" to the Bulgarian people's unity, reconciliation, and consensus.

Unity makes our strength! It is necessary today, unrelentingly and wisely, and in a spirit of moderation to proceed along the path of actively implementing the new party policy in order to overcome division and achieve a truly strong unity of our people.

Parliamentary Commission on National Unity

AU0401203890 Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—At its today session the Commission for the Protection of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights discussed a draft resolution for strengthening the national unity of the Bulgarian people and eliminating the consequences of the violation of constitutional rights and freedoms of the Bulgarian citizens. The MPs discussed the problem of rectifying some abuses committed by the authoritarian regime harming the national unity of the Bulgarian people.

The people's deputies agreed that this draft should be adopted as a basis for their further work. It was decided to entrust the Commission for the Protection of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights and the Legislative Commission with the task of studying the proposals made. After consulting the leaderships of the other commissions the document is to be presented at the forthcoming session of the National Assembly.

Fatherland Front Supports Ethnic Decision

AU0301111390

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 2 January on page 1 carries a 500-word "Declaration of the Bureau of the Fatherland Front National Council in Connection With the Decision to Eliminate the Distortions Concerning the Country's Turkish-Speaking and Muslim Population," dated 30 December 1989.

The Bureau of the Fatherland Front National Council "fully and completely supports the decision of the last plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, and the subsequent joint decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on eliminating the distortions concerning the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population of the country."

The declaration "categorically condemns the fatal and criminal policy of Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime," "cordially congratulates all Bulgarian Turkish-speaking and Muslim citizens on the occasion of successfully resolving their legal demands," and points out that the decision "creates the necessary conditions for achieving nationwide unity and consensus."

Roundtable Talks Scheduled for 16 Jan

AU0401180690 Sofia BTA in English
1648 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—The first round of the "round table" will be held on January 16 through January 24, 1990. This was decided at the consultations which were completed today between the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces. At the preliminary consultations, the sides specified the order for the holding of the meetings, the members of the delegations, the way for decision taking.

It was decided that the round table will discuss the problems of national agreement and reconciliation, the political system, the legal order and system, as well as the drafting of a new election bill, socio-economic problems.

Further on Talks

AU0401194690 Sofia BTA in English
1811 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—On January 3 and January 4, 1990 in the building of the National Assembly, preliminary consultations were held between the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and two independent MPs, and the delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces, for specifying the procedures concerning the forthcoming "round table" between these organizations. It was agreed that the first round of the "round table" will be held between January 16 and January 24, 1990. The sides specified the order for the holding of the meetings, the members of the delegations, the way for decision taking, the order for informing of the public and other procedural problems, reads the joint announcement of the delegations released here.

It was decided that the round table will discuss the problems of national agreement and reconciliation, the political system, the legal order and system, as well as the drafting of a new election bill, socio-economic problems.

It was agreed that the first round of the "round table" will end with an agreement on the questions on which concord has been reached and will specify those on which agreement has not been reached. After the conclusion of the first round the two delegations will agree on the way for informing of the public about the results of the talks.

The preliminary consultations passed in a constructive atmosphere.

The delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces set also the following questions:

—Providing of an adequate building for work of the union;

—Granting the right to publish its own daily;

—Granting time in the transmissions of the TV and radio.

It was agreed that these questions will be presented for resolution to the competent state bodies in the beginning of next week with the view to reach a decision before the beginning of the first round of the "round table", points out the announcement.

Declaration Adopted

AU0401205390 Sofia BTA in English
1944 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—The participants in the consultations on the roundtable talks held by the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) on one side and the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) on the other approved a declaration in connection with the reaction to the decisions concerning the rights of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population in Bulgaria. The main point in the declaration is the achievement of national concord, the spokesmen of the delegations pointed out. They both hold the opinion that the demands for a referendum on Muslims' names are unfounded, because the validity of human rights in Bulgaria cannot be submitted to any referendum.

The spokesman of the CC of the BCP, Prof Ivan Angelov, said that today a conference of high-ranking officials was called to discuss the national problem.

The declaration was made up by representatives of the two delegations.

The announcement of the results of the two-day-long consultations was made jointly by Prof Ivan Angelov, the spokesman of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and the spokesman of the UDF, Mr Georgi Spasov, each one of them reading part of the announcement. They informed a group of journalists that the delegations to the roundtable talks will have permanent memberships. The delegation of the ruling parties the BCP and the BZNS is co-chaired by Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and

Ms Svetla Daskalova, secretary of the BZNS Standing Committee. They will probably rotate for the separate sessions. The delegation of the UDF is headed by Mr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces. The sessions will be general, but some problems may be discussed by working groups. Decisions will be adopted by consensus. If there are some differences, small working groups will be set up to clarify the problems. The spokesmen will provide information about the course of the talks, but some of the sessions will be open ones. The two spokesmen announced that the BCP and the UDF are working on their economic programs. Political democracy is impossible without economic democracy and stability, said Mr Ivan Angelov who is a professor in economics. Mr Georgi Spasov pointed out that the question of ownership is the most important in the economic programme and it is a political one. Despite the differences, the two spokesmen made it clear that they are looking forward to the roundtable negotiations with hopes.

Mr Georgi Spasov stated that the UDF has no "opposition government" and denied the possibility of the union's participation in a coalition government at this stage. We would take part in partial elections, he added after expressing the opinion that there are people's deputies at the National Assembly who should resign.

Mr Ivan Angelov made a separate statement on the consultations held by the joint delegation of the BCP, the BZNS and two non-party MPs with more than 20 public, political and creative workers' organizations, including the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian Trade Unions which have declared themselves to be independent and the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DKMS). He said, "the delegation of the BCP and the BZNS consider the two consultations to be equally important and expresses the hope that at a next stage these two parallel series (the meetings with the public organizations and the UDF) will converge, thus forming a national 'roundtable', a 'round table' of national concord".

New 'Informal' Organization Established

AU0401214190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] By the end of December, a group of intellectuals, scientific workers, and public figures established a new informal organization, called Movement for Democratic Socialism.

The goal of the movement is to rally broad social circles around a platform of democratic socialism based on the principles of market economy, political pluralism, the people's self-government, social justice, and freedom of the individual, and to create a social atmosphere for the acceptance and defense of such ideas at the forthcoming Extraordinary Bulgarian Communist Party Congress and during the forthcoming elections.

A programmatic declaration of the movement has been prepared and will be published within the forthcoming days.

The initiative group invites all those interested to participate in discussing the platform of the movement for democratic socialism. The discussions are expected to be held each Wednesday in January 1990 as of 1700 local time, in Hall No. 13 of the People's Palace of Culture.

BCP 'Alternative Forum' Established

AU0401204490 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—In the framework of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in Sofia an "alternative forum" for its restructuring and functioning as a modern party was established. The letter delivered at the BTA points out that BCP members politologists [as received], party veterans and others have taken part in the constitution of the forum.

Certain problems of the course of the political and organizational restructuring of the BCP have been discussed. It was ascertained that despite some of the steps undertaken after November 10 and the December plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP still an overall concept is lacking in fact, as well as decisive steps for organizational reconstruction of the party in accordance with the new socio-political conditions and its innovated functions.

The forum sets as its immediate task the development and proposing of an alternative position on the chief principles in the construction of the BCP as a communist party of modern type.

The formation of alternative forums should not be viewed as a faction. These forums have no programs of their own. They are formed to give assistance to the respective party bodies for the taking of the most right decisions possible in the present conditions, reads the letter.

'Bulgarian Road to Europe' Leader Cited

AU0401123890 Sofia BTA in English 1256 GMT 4 Jan 90

[On the Different Platforms Within the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—Over 1,000 BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] members have called to express support for the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform in the week since it was declared, and most of them have said that they were speaking on behalf of entire BCP organizations, says Prof. Dr. Petur-Emil Mitev, chairman of the Platform's Coordinating Council, in an interview for RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

In his words, the already existing three inner-party platforms: the BCP Democratic Forum, the Alternative Socialist Association and the Bulgarian Road to Europe share the common idea of the party's de-Stalinization, of its democratization, on an overhaul of party life and of the relations between party and state and on its new social status. "I believe that the goodwill of the people representing these platforms would be a prerequisite for their future unification," Prof. Mitev points out.

He believes that the party benefits from the establishment of different platforms. A debate on their programmes, their enrichment and perfection can lead to a common concept to help transform the party and unite it on a democratic basis.

Stressing that the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" does not want to be a faction, Prof. Mitev specifies that the platform does not oppose the existence of factions within the party but, on the contrary, wants the right to the establishment of factions to be written into the new BCP rules.

The leader of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" goes on to say that the change of the party's name would be an important as a symbol of its renewal.

In his view it would be difficult to rally the entire party on the basis of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform but an attempt could still be made to unite the overwhelming majority in the party.

He does not rule out the possibility of a split in the BCP but does not see it as anything tragic and unnatural.

"We should do our best to rally the majority of the democratically minded members of the party, but we should keep in mind that there has long been a reformist and a conservative wing in it. It was unnatural for a party to exist as united on the face of it, without genuine inner-party democracy. In this sense, a division of the party would not be unnatural," Prof. Petur-Emil Mitev sums up his remarks.

Pleven BCP Restores 'Repressed' Members

AU0401085890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] A plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Municipal Committee was held in Pleven. Atanas Atanasov, chief director of the Oil Chemical Combine, and Iliya Ivanov, chief director of the Elektron Combine, were relieved from the committee bureau at their own request.

Veselin Kartalski, candidate member of the bureau, former first secretary of the Muncipal Komsomol Committee, was also relieved from his post.

The plenum decided to rescind the party punishments of 34 Communists that were imposed on them in 1978 by the totalitarian regime. They also were granted full political rehabilitation. It was recommended to the Central Committee of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism to restore the title Fighter Against Capitalism and Fascism to the formerly repressed Communists.

The proposal to establish a commission, attached to the Municipal BCP Committee, on investigating distortions and corruption in the villages and towns of the Pleven Municipality was confirmed. This commission will include representatives of political and mass organizations, of the bar, and the Union of Democratic Forces.

Mladenov's New Year Message to Citizens

AU0401152390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Jan 90 p 1

["New Year's Message to the Bulgarian People by Petur Mladenov, State Council Chairman" and general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee: "Peaceful and Fruitful"]

[Text] Dear compatriots, brothers and sisters,

The past year was a year of harsh tests. However, it also was illuminated by hopes and aspirations.

The long-awaited turning point came in November. A decisive turning point that affects all areas of life and all of us, was conducted. Our social development made a dashing turn toward a new direction. Favorable conditions of profound transformations, without which our further progress is unthinkable, were created.

The Bulgarian people greeted the changes of renewal as the only possible correct road of the country's salvation. Precisely those changes facilitated the vigorous emergence of new social forces in Bulgaria's political life. Together with them we will seek the response to the fateful questions that have emerged. Now our motherland's historical chance is completely in the hands of the people, in our hands.

We began a revolution that we must successfully complete, and we must eliminate once and for all the relapses of the past. We are at the threshold of the 21st century—a new era of global problems and unprecedented possibilities revealed by the upsurge of the human intellect. We have no other alternative except to construct the democratic civic society, a modern law-governed state, and real humane socialism, as it has and is being understood by the most progressive brains of mankind. For this purpose we need national consensus and creative work in the name of the nation's material and intellectual progress. The vessel that must carry us to the promised shore has room for all those who really cherish Bulgaria.

The process of change is just beginning. We must still resolve incredibly complex problems that we could not resolve in the past. The most progressive achievements and tendencies of universal development must be our basic signpost. Only thus we will be able to overcome the

difficult inheritance, achieve stabilization, and create conditions of real prosperity for our people.

Democratic elections will take place in 1990. Let the people freely express their preferences. Let our entire society master the alphabet of democracy, observe the legal order, and respect the principles of humanism. Let no one attempt to command the thoughts and actions of others, let everyone, according to his duty and conscience, serve the motherland, united under the tricolor of the pure and holy republic.

Let us use our efforts and construct a community of free people, who are not divided into "us" and "them." The normal differences of opinions, understandings, and religions must not repel us, but stimulate our interest in each other. The natural diversity of opinions and interests is a powerful driving force of progress. There exist a real possibility that already in the near future we will be able to taste the fruits of a new free culture and a new free and morally and inteliectually purified life. Our people, who passed through so many tests and twists of fate, fully deserve a better destiny.

We expect that the processes of renewal in the country during the current year give a new and healing impulse to our international positions.

Bulgaria's foreign policy will continue to defend our national interest, relying on the people's support. Also in 1990, our efforts will be directed toward the further and favorable development of relations between East and West. We shall attribute primary importance to relations and cooperation with the USSR, the other socialist countries, and our Balkan neighbors. Bulgaria's place in Europe and the world and our comprehensive participation in the community of cultured and civilized nations will be analyzed in a new and most constructive manner.

Just a few hours remain to the beginning of the New Year 1990. Let us wish health and happiness to ourselves, our relatives and friends, and especially, to our most precious relatives—our parents, children, and grandchildren. Let us wish them a safe and peaceful home and a prospering motherland.

Let the New Year 1990 be a happy, productive, peaceful, and fruitful year!

Trade Unions Executive Committee Meets

AU0401085990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Plovdiv: Under the leadership of Professor Doctor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, an expanded session of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Central Council took place here.

It was attended by chairmen of federative councils and central branch trade unions, by chairmen of oblast trade union councils, by various trade union figures, and experts.

A draft document on signing a general agreement with the government for 1990 on basic social problems of working people in our country, on guaranteeing the right of labor and employment, on the living standard, and social welfare, on questions of labor wages, on the social development of labor collectives, on labor conditions, and classification of labor, on problems of recreation and health recuperation, on democratization of economic management, was discussed.

A commission was appointed in charge of starting negotiations with the government on the questions included in the agreement. It was pointed out that the document should be submitted to the Podkrepa Labor Federation for information and in case it wishes to join the negotiations with the government.

The revised and complemented draft law on labor conflicts, controversies, and strikes was once more discussed. A meeting behind close doors dealing with inner-organizational issues, related to the preparations of the 11th Extraordinary Trade Union Congress scheduled to take place in February, was also held.

A declaration of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council on the country's ethnic problems was adopted, on which we have already reported.

Government, Trade Unions To Sign Agreement

AU0401085090 Sofia BTA in English 2117 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Plovdiv, January 3 (BTA)—The Interim Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions met here today to consider a draft for a general agreement between the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and the Government of Bulgaria for 1990. The prospective agreement, the first of its kind, calls for categorical guarantees of the right to work and to employment and dismisses the possibilities of unemployment even after winding up of companies. In addition, the government is required to revoke all decrees and other decisions which restrict the workers' right to a free choice of workplace, residence and form of ownership.

The government is urged to make public statistics on the population's incomes and living standards, to tie incomes to a consumer price index, to revise income and property tax legislation, to make public and to revise the mechanisms of public funds formation and distribution.

There was a heated debate on wages. It is suggested to set a price of labour power by occupations and a minimum of subsistence. The lowest wage should amount to 70 per cent of that minimum and the lowest pension should amount three-quarters of the subsistence minimum.

The agenda also included a draft law on collective industrial disputes to regulate the forms of settling these disputes and the right to take strike action.

Lukanov Views 'New Society' in Interview

AU0401130390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Andrey Lukanov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, by Filip Bokov, chairman of the Committee on Television and Radio, carried on Bulgarian Television on 21 December and published "with significant abbreviations" by RABOTNICHESKO DELO: "National Consensus—Guarantee of Irreversibility of Changes"]

[Text] On 21 December, Bulgarian Television carried an interview with Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and Central Committee secretary, on certain topical issues of the present socioeconomic and political situation in the country. Because of the great interest on the part of the readers today we carry (with significant abbreviations) the interview, as conducted by Filip Bokov, chairman of the Committee on Television and Radio.

Filip Bokov: The first question I would like to ask relates to the political situation in the country. The processes that are taking place are exceptionally complicated and dynamic. How would you describe them?

Andrey Lukanov: First, I would say that we are already living in a new society, in the sense that the processes of democratization are really and quickly developing in the country, and that a situation of political pluralism is being created. There exists an unprecedented freedom of opinions, statements, speech, meetings, rallies, and demonstrations. Despite the fact that less than 2 months have passed since 10 November, all this allows us to say that we are living in a new and basically democratic society.

Naturally, we must not have any illusions—we still are far away from the goal that we have posed for ourselves. We face the issue of the new constitution, new laws, and the legal, political, and other guarantees of constructing the civic society in the country. A lot is still to be done; however, what has already been done has historic importance and is irreversible.

Second, I would like to note the speed with which the new political and social structures are being formed, the intensification of the country's political forces, and the diversity and differentiation of opinions. I think that this is a very positive tendency. It shows that the processes of democratization have a real character, and that we do not deal in empty talk, but with real democracy. Similar processes also are developing in the public organizations that existed before 10 November, such as the Fatherland Front, the Komsomol, the trade unions, and other creative and professional unions and structures. The pace of the changes is accelerating there, especially in recent days. They are searching for their place in society. They are seeking their own restructuring. All this is a symptom of a sound social situation.

Filip Bokov: The striving toward independence is interesting. Now all forces declare themselves independent.

Andrey Lukanov: This is justifiable. We must demonopolize our political and social life, therefore, the striving toward independence is fully natural. It is only on this basis that real pluralism can be constructed.

Third, I would like to note that a dominating tendency is emerging, despite the complex and dynamic character of the situation: This is the tendency of supporting the processes of democratization, restructuring, the changes, and I am pleased to note, the efforts of the BCP to guarantee the success of and lead restructuring. This also represents support for the BCP itself.

Filip Bokov: Do you not think that the passions that emerged last week in connection with Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3, of the Bulgarian Constitution meant to a certain degree a lack of confidence in the BCP, in the sense that it is postponing the solution of the issue. This is the first part of my question. The second part: What do you think about Article 1? Does it apply at the moment or not, since it is known that because of procedural reasons the National Assembly postponed its decision to the next session?

Andrey Lukanov: I do not think that there is a reason to mistrust the party and its intentions. It clearly announced them. As far as the party is concerned, I can say that the party already does not rely on Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3, of our Constitution as the basis of its political actions and place in Bulgarian society. We have already taken the position that the party's authority and influence can be based only on its policy, arguments, and actions, and not on any legal provisions. I think that with its declaration the National Assembly also assumed a clear position on this issue. Paragraphs 2 and 3 have not been formally repealed, however, expressing support for the proposals of the parliamentary groups of the BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the National Assembly very precisely and categorically determined its attitude. I do not want to interpret the present situation from a judicial point of view. However, the process of demonopolization is already being conducted in fact in our society.

As far as the passions you mentioned are concerned, I think that they deserve no more than pity. We all are learning democracy, and we probably will stumble occasionally in this process. Nevertheless, we, as a nation, owe it to ourselves to respect our own constitutional organs and institutions. In this sense the National Assembly correctly assessed certain manifestations as the lack of political culture. A parliament cannot adopt decisions under such pressure. No civilized law-governed state would allow this.

Some people tried to justify those manifestations, after they took place, with the situation in the country until 10 November. They even expressed the thesis that if "Death!" has been used as a slogan in the May rallies, the same slogan can also be used now. I personally am

puzzled by this argument, because if we accept this situation as normal, and if we agree that today we can act in a certain manner because it was accepted under conditions of the authoritarian regime and personal dictatorship, this would mean that we will again arrive at the same situation that existed before 10 November. We must be clear about what a real democracy can or cannot allow.

Filip Bokov: Now many people are saying that reforming the party is one of the basic preconditions for fully implementing the process of restructuring. I think that in many Communists there is now a syndrome of guilt about the years of totalitarian regime, and what was taking place during those years. How do you see the process of overcoming this syndrome and generally, the issue of reforming the party? Will the party be able to change itself and thus facilitate social change?

Andrey Lukanov: First of all, I would like to say that if the party does not conduct those changes in itself, obviously, the general changes in the entire Bulgaria society will be very difficult, because whether someone likes it or not, the BCP is a real and great social power in Bulgaria, regardless of the existence or repeal of paragraphs 2 and 3. This is a reality of Bulgarian political life and Bulgarian political history.

I also thing that there is hardly a need to talk about the guilt syndrome. I decisively oppose the attempts to present the entire socialist period of our development after 9 September as a chain of mistakes and failures.

Filip Bokov: Do you not think then that a more profound analysis of that period should be conducted? I mean an analysis on the party of the party and all people.

Andrey Lukanov: Absolutely. Such an analysis is imminent and it must be, as you said, not only a party cause, but an all-people cause, because Bulgarian socialism is not only a party cause, but the cause of all people. However, I would like to say that the attempt to present the entire period after 9 September in a negative light, is dishonest from an intellectual point of view. We have achieved a lot. It is insulting when others are admitting it, but we ourselves are trying to deny it. We must be sober, impartial, objective, and see both the positive and negative elements. For me personally, the positive elements are much more numerous than the negative, regardless of the grave mistakes and deformations that have been allowed, especially in recent years. From that point of view, I personally think that neither the Communists, nor all of us as Bulgarian citizens, have any reason to be in a state of self- rejection or to have a syndrome of total guilt. Those who are trying to instill this feeling in us obviously have other intentions, and they contradict the historical truth.

As far as the changes in the party are concerned, about which you asked me, they have already begun. The decision itself to hold the Extraordinary 14th BCP Congress, the decisions of the last plenum, and the entire atmosphere of democratization in the country are stimulating the democratization of inner party life.

Filip Bokov: This may be so, but it still applies to the higher echelons only. When will the process continue toward the lower echelons?

Andrey Lukanov: This is precisely what I want to say—the process has already begun also at the "lower echelons." In many places, while reviewing the materials of the plenum, the Communists are really seeking their place and analyze the situation not only in its national scope, but according to the developments around them in the places where they live. In many places something like a vote of confidence in the leadership of the primary party organizations is taking place. This is being done under conditions of democracy, secret elections, and alternative candidates. I think that a process of restoring the initiative and the care of the Communists for the reality that surrounds them is taking place in the primary party organizations. The exigence toward the leaders is increasing. I personally believe that as a result of those processes, and their strengthening and acceleration, we shall appear at the congress with a decisively renewed party, from political, organizational, and cadre points of view.

Filip Bokov: A lot has been said about conducting a dialogue. I would like our viewers to hear your opinion on this matter. Both the party and the "opposition," if I may say so, are talking about it, but I think that there still are just a few signs of a dialogue. As people used to say once, during the previous system, there is glasnost but you cannot hear it. Thus, my question is how do you assess the possibilities of conducting a dialogue? At the recent December plenum the party proposed a platform. Has there been any reaction to this platform and on what basis will the dialogue be conducted?

Andrey Lukanov: Yes, we have our platform and propose it for discussion to all political and social forces in Bulgaria. I would like to clearly point out that we have repeatedly said that we do not want to impose this platform on society. This is how things used to be. Now we want to conduct a dialogue with all those who wish to conduct a dialogue with us, and thus adopt optimal decisions, discuss all possible alternatives related to problems of socioeconomic policy, the political system, the state system, and the guarantees of the democratic processes, in short, to talk about all problems, without any exception. We think that this is the only stable foundation of national unity aimed at specific goals.

For the time being, we are somewhat disappointed by the reaction, in the sense that the other social forces are delaying their reaction. We hope that in the near future they will be able to formulate either complete platforms, or separate goals, proposals, and alternatives on issues that move the entire nation, so that we could conduct a dialogue in different forms. I personally do not think that the forms of the dialogue must be imposed by somebody. Let us begin it, and its development itself will indicate

what are the most appropriate and efficient forms of conducting dialogue. I would also like to point out something else: Nobody should claim monopoly at this dialogue. Nobody has grounds to speak on behalf of the people. We relinquished the monopoly on the truth, despite the fact that we are a significant political and social power. Let the other side do the same. Let the people express themselves through free and democratic elections what policy they support, what socialism they want, how they see self-management and economic legislation, how to revive the Bulgarian villages, and what guarantees they want in order to be sure that from now on and forever they will live in a democratic and law-governed state. Those are things about which all people must express themselves, and not merely this or that party and social structure. Therefore, we must form the alternatives and proposals at the dialogue and let the people express their opinion.

Filip Bokov: A very painful issue for all people is the issue of the deformations and violations of laws and moral principles on the part of the previous party and state leadership. Last week you were elected chairman of the parliamentary commission that will deal with those issues. I would like to ask you whether the commission has already started its work in essence, when will it be ready to present its conclusions, and is it ready to periodically inform the Bulgarian public until the final conclusions are published?

Andrey Lukanov: Yes, the commission started its work. Our first meeting was naturally devoted to organizational aspects. Among the many issues—we are swamped with letters, telegrams, statements, and tips that excite our public—we decided to select the most important ones, those that are repeated most frequently in the letters and tips of the Bulgarian citizens, and concentrate our attention on them in the next 2 months. I must say that this is a very complicated, responsible, and exceptionally voluminous task, because thousands, even tens of thousands of pages of documents, court records, and so forth, must be reviewed. However, we shall try to work without any delay because we understand well the impatience of our society and the desire of our people to learn, as soon as possible, the truth about the deformations and violations of law on the part of Todor Zhivkov and his circle, and the deformations and violations of law that have taken place in the past. We will especially review the issue of the trial of Nikola Petkov and his collaborators, and the trial of a group of Communists during the period after the April plenum.

I hope that we will be able to inform the public about our first conclusions in January and February. We shall try to present information about some of the problems that we will review already at the next session of the National Assembly.

Naturally, with your help, the help of the mass media, we are ready to periodically inform the public about our conclusions. Simultaneously, I would like to ask for understanding on the part of the public in anything related to the following: In order to be able to review those issues objectively, without any bias, and in a calm manner, we shall review some of those issues behind "closed doors." However, I would like to assure the public that nothing will remain secret. In order to guarantee this we shall ask a group of highly respected public figures and specialists—jurists, people with impeccable morals and the necessary competence—to join the members of the commission, who are National Assembly members, and help us in our work. Through them we shall maintain a more active contact with our entire public.

Filip Bokov: One last question. What do you think is the basic problem, that must be resolved immediately?

Andrey Lukanov: I think that the most important thing for all of us, for the entire nation, is to advance—as soon as possible—to the constructive stage of restructuring. The main goals that we are posing to ourselves now, are: overcoming the crisis situation in economy, resolving certain pressing social problems, accelerating the construction of the foundation of the law-governed socialist state, and conducting elections under civilized and democratic conditions.

Filip Bokov: This means that there is not a single issue, but rather many issues....

Andrey Lukanov: I think that it is very difficult to isolate one single issue, however, the main thing related to those issues of superior importance for us as a nation, is to quickly advance to real action. We must achieve national consensus in order to be able to advance toward real action and unite the nation around the proposed approaches and goals. The dialogue I already mentioned is the only road that leads toward this goal.

Conference Held on Chernobyl Pollution

AU2112104289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] A conference opened in Sofia today on radiation protection problems and the results of the pollution caused by Chernobyl in Bulgaria.

Those taking part included specialists from the Council of Ministers' Committee for Science and Higher Education, the Academy of Military Medicine and the National Scientific Program for Radiation Protection.

Data was presented that had been prepared at the end of last year by the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Nuclear Radiation, according to which Bulgaria occupied the first position with regard to the highest degree of contamination with [word indistinct] radionuclides. This relates to the equivalent dose created by the iodine-130 content in the thyroid gland of [word indistinct].

In a frank dialogue, the specialists proved that, despite the warnings and views expressed concerning the creation of effective radiation protection following the accident, the Government Commission for Combating

Natural Disasters and Major Industrial Accidents failed to take measures to overcome the situation and misinformed the public.

Despite the numerous proposals made by the specialists from the Agricultural Academy that highly contaminated animal feed should be destroyed, this was not done, which led to a secondary radiation peak in the contents of food products, such as meat, milk, and meat and dairy products. As a result of this, the accumulation of radiation among the population also increased quickly, especially in southern Bulgaria.

Despite the assurances of Professor Lyubomir Shindarov, first deputy minister of public health, the food products in Bulgaria were naturally contaminated with harmful radioactive contents. The only exceptions were certain products intended for export and for the government.

The conference will continue tomorrow.

Pirinski Visit to Romania Noted

AU0401224590 Sofia BTA in English 2017 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, January 4 (BTA correspondent Petyo Petkov)—Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived in Bucharest today. This morning he had a meeting with Mr Mihai Draganescu, deputy prime minister of Romania. Mr Victor Stanculescu, minister of national economy, and Mr Nicolae M. Nicolae, minister of foreign trade, also took part in the meeting.

The shared opinion was expressed that the processes of radical reform in the society in Bulgaria and Romania provide a new basis and prospects both for the development of trade and for determining new real spheres of long-term cooperative activity and cooperation in investments. The major characteristics of this basis are the independence of companies and enterprises in Bulgaria and Romania, democratization of social and economic life. It was pointed out that there are a number of fields first of all in mechanical engineering, the electronic industry and the consumer goods production where possibilities should be sought to make fuller use of the production capacities and satisfying the demands of the two countries' markets. Agreement was reached to hold meetings of Bulgarian and Romanian businessmen in January and February to negotiate in concrete the ways for the development of cooperation in the future. The delivery of Bulgarian goods which are especially needed by Romania was also agreed. The Romanian leaders expressed their sincere gratitude to the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian authorities for the humanitarian aid in the days of the revolution.

Atanasov Greets Romania's Roman on Appointment

AU3012093889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Dec 89 p 1

[Telegram from Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov to Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman—date not given]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Roman, on the occasion of your appointment as prime minister of Romania, I send you cordial greetings and best wishes for good health and successes in your highly responsible work.

I believe that relations of close and fruitful cooperation will be established between our countries for the prosperity of our peoples.

Mladenov Greets CPCZ's Adamec on Election

AU3012130289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Dec 89 p 1

[Message from Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, to Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party—date not given]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Adamec,

On behalf of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee and on my personal behalf, I most cordially greet you on your election as CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] chairman.

I wish you comprehensive successes in your highly responsible activity for strengthening the CPCZ positions in the process of restructuring and renewing your country.

Mladenov Greets CPCZ's Mohorita on Election

AU3012130889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Dec 89 p 1

[Message from Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party—date not given]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Mohorita,

I congratulate you on your election as first secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee.

I wish you effective activity for strengthening and renewing the CPCZ as an important factor in developing socialism in fraternal Czechoslovakia.

Intellectuals Greet CSSR's Havel on Election

AU2912214589 Sofia BTA in English 2054 GMT 29 Dec 89

["Bulgarian Intellectuals Congratulate Vaclav Havel"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—"Dear Mr Havel, your election as president of Czechoslovakia is a triumph for your country and for us, the 102 Bulgarian intellectuals who wrote a letter to the Czechoslovak Government in February 1989 protesting against your arrest," reads a greetings address sent to Mr Vaclav Havel today.

The Bulgarian intellectuals write they admire Mr Vaclav Havel's perseverance in his long-standing noble struggle and wish him wholeheartedly a successful and speedy realization of democracy so that he could return to his favourite writer's profession.

"We are convinced that the time has now come for genuine brotherhood between our two countries," reads the message which is signed by Ms Blaga Dimitrova, Mr Georgi Mishev and Mr Yordan Vasilev on behalf of the 102 intellectuals.

Mladenov Greets MSZMP's Thurmer on Election

AU3012131289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Dec 89 p 1

[Message from Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, to Gyula Thurmer, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party—date not given]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Thurmer,

Please accept my warmest congratulations on your election as MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] chairman.

From the bottom of my heart, I wish you and the entire party fruitful and successful work and unity of all forces striving toward socialist ideals and constructing the renewed democratic society in Hungary.

I express our readiness for cooperation between the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the MSZMP for the benefit of our people and in the interest of socialism and peace.

Foreign Officials Note Bulgarian Changes

AU3112193689 Sofia BTA in English 1727 GMT 31 Dec 89

["Europe Needs a Democratic Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 31 (BTA)—"Bulgaria is at the start of a difficult road to building a political democracy and a market economy," says Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Poland's prime minister, in a RABOTNICHESKO DELO poll to which he replied along with prominent politicians of Hungary, the FRG and Britain. They were asked to answer questions about the changes underway in Bulgaria and about the opportunities they open up for the promotion of cooperation.

Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki believes that the changes in Bulgaria, as well as in the other countries of Eastern and central Europe, are now just a great hope. He says he is pleased with the readiness of the country's leadership for roundtable talks with the Union of Democratic Forces. In his view, the contacts between the two countries should be entirely de-ideologized.

For his part, Mr Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, says that the deep-going democratic and socioeconomic reforms in the socialist countries are closely interconnected as "part of our common search for a common European home. People in Bulgaria have declared themselves in favour of a better society. This is not only a national but an international result, too. The building of democratic structures will widen considerably the dialogue between the FRG and Bulgaria."

Mr Jozsef Antal, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum: "I have always been convinced that a process of this kind will start in Bulgaria. We would like to help the success of democratization in Bulgaria."

Dr Otto Count Lambsdorf, chairman of the Free Democratic Party, says that Europe needs a democratic Bulgaria. He welcomes the fact that the process of democratic change in Bulgaria is similar to that in Hungary, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. He emphasizes that the country's democratization efforts should be supported. "I think that it would be possible to proceed in the same way as in the cooperation with Poland and Hungary," Dr Lambsdorf says.

Mr Jean-Yves Le Deaut, member of the French National Assembly for the Socialist Party, was impressed by the pace of events after November 10. In his view, the French will change their idea of Bulgaria. He says that "Bulgaria has a good point in seeking membership in GATT and a possible accession to the Council of Europe, as well as aid from the International Monetary Fund. Contacts with the Common Market will be strengthened, too." He criticized French industrialists and financiers for the apathy with which they get involved in common business undertakings with Bulgarian companies.

Mr Gerald Kaufman, shadow foreign secretary for the British Labour Party, feels encouraged by developments in Bulgaria and hopes that the processes will be speeded up. He has met with Mr Petur Mladenov in London and Sofia and believes that he is a vibrant person in line with the demands for reform. The changes in Bulgaria will stimulate British-Bulgarian relations, Mr Kaufman says.

EC Official Plans Visit to East Europe

AU0401085690 Sofia BTA in English
1937 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Brussels, January 3 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Frans Andriessen, vice president of the Commission of the European Communities for External Relations, Trade Policy and Relations with European Non-member Countries, will soon make a tour of several East European countries including Bulgaria, a spokesman for the EC Commission said today.

As is known, in February 1989 the commission received a mandate from the EC Council to open formal talks on a trade and economic cooperation agreement between the Common Market and Bulgaria. "We already had such contacts but in the second half of 1989 we found it difficult to agree on a date for their resumption. In connection with the new situation in Bulgaria, however, I expect that the negotiations will be resumed at an early date," the spokesman told the foreign reporters accredited to the EC.

He went on to say that the schedule and the timing of Mr Frans Andriessen's East European tour, which will take him to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania, have yet to be specified.

"I expect him to take advantage of the trip to Bulgaria to get briefed on the country's recent economic and political development, on its views of the future of its relations with the Common Market," the EC commission spokesman said.

Mitterrand Invites Mladenov to Talks in Paris

AU2112205889 Sofia BTA in English
1901 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—On December 20 this year President Francois Mitterrand sent a message to Petur Mladenov, President of the State Council of Bulgaria, in which an offer is extended to the Bulgarian side to take part in the preparations for establishing a European restoration and development bank. The idea for the bank and the decision for its practical implementation were adopted by the participants in the summit meeting of the Council of Europe held in Strasbourg in December 8-9, 1989.

In the message sent by the president of France to the Bulgarian head of state it is suggested to hold the first talks on the establishment of the bank in Paris from January 15 through January 16, 1990, when the main directions of its activity will be determined and the composition of its capital and the constituent act, which should be signed in February 1990, will be outlined.

The French president's views as to the special importance and practical implementation of this idea were discussed during the talks with French parliamentarians, who recently paid a visit to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian side appreciated the initiative and expressed readiness for Bulgaria's constructive participation.

Lukanov, Todorov Meet French Legislators

AU2112085789 Sofia BTA in English
1851 GMT 20 Dec 89

["French M.P.'s Pleased With What They Saw in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—"Bulgaria is evolving towards democracy, towards freedom of the press and of all public actions, demonstrations included. We have received confirmation of an evolution towards a multiparty system and free elections," Mr Jean-Yves le Deaut, a socialist party member of the French National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, told the BTA in a pre-departure interview.

Mr Le Deaut and a fellow M.P., Mr Pierre Raynal of Rally for the Republic, visited Bulgaria to get familiar with the processes of democracy, glasnost and pluralism since November 10, 1989. Along with other delegations of the French National Assembly, which went on similar missions to the USSR, Hungary, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, they will report to the committee the results of their trips on December 21.

"We will report that Bulgaria has created conditions to deepen its cooperation with Western Europe," Mr Jean-Yves le Deaut emphasized.

He said he was pleased with the opportunity which Bulgaria gave the French parliamentarians to speak to all people of their choice.

Yesterday and today they conferred with Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, with Mr Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], with Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, with Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, with members of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Policy, and with representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces, an umbrella organisation of ten independent associations and groups.

"We saw that there is evolution towards democracy and, I should say, an awakening to political activism. Our partners have emerged from what can be called a political apathy," Mr Jean-Yves le Deaut said.

He emphasized that his colleague and he will back Bulgaria's applications for membership in international economic organisations and for receiving a most favoured nation trading status. "We will campaign for the establishment of a European investment bank."

During their stay in Sofia, the French M.P.'s discussed with their hosts the opportunities for wider and more active bilateral business contacts and, as Mr Jean-Yves le Deaut specified, the transfer of technologies and know how.

Italian Foreign Minister Praises Changes

AU2112091489 Sofia BTA in English
2036 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Rome, December 20 (BTA corr.)—"The Italian Government and I personally positively assess the deep changes taking place in Bulgaria and follow them with great interest," Mr Gianni de Michelis, Italy's foreign affairs minister, told today a BTA reporter.

He said that the present processes of democracy in all spheres of life in Bulgaria are a serious prerequisite for deepening of the mutually beneficial relations between that country and the Western European states in the sphere of policy, economy and culture. Italy, Mr de Michelis stressed, is willing to help this process and as a first step it is considering proposing Bulgaria's incorporation in the four-member group for cooperation which includes Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Italy. My visit to Bulgaria, in the nearest time, during which I will discuss all issues in detail with my Bulgarian counterpart, will contribute to the solution of this problem and give a strong impetus to Bulgaro-Italian relations.

Mladenov, Al-Qadhdafi Hold Phone Conversation

AU0401173590 Sofia BTA in English
1616 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 4 (BTA)—Today Mr Petur Mladenov had a telephone talk with Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. The initiative for the talk was of the Libyan leader.

Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi expressed sincere wishes for success in the activity of the Bulgarian political leadership. He pointed out that the Libyan leadership is ready to develop without any limitations the bilateral cooperation in all spheres. Will was expressed for a top-level meeting in Libya or in Bulgaria, as soon as possible, which would discuss the prospects of the bilateral cooperation and the present-day international situation.

Mr Petur Mladenov thanked for the wishes and the readiness expressed by the Libyan side for further development of the bilateral cooperation. The Bulgarian side greeted the idea for a top-level meeting.

Dwelling on the changes underway in this country Mr Mladenov pointed out that they are deep and are oriented toward the construction of an independent, democratic and law-abiding state. He pointed out that Bulgaria will continue to strengthen the friendship and cooperation with Libya and the other friendly Arab countries, will develop her relations with them on principled base.

Further Reportage on Sudeten German Issue

Havel, Hunger Striker Agree

LD0401133190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Miroslav Klen, who was on a hunger strike to protest a possible apology by Czechoslovak officials to the Sudeten Germans, visited President Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle today at the latter's invitation. After extensive explanations by the president, Mr Klen found that there was almost total agreement of views. He has therefore decided to immediately end the hunger strike.

Government Not Considering Apology

LD0401195890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The visit by President Vaclav Havel on Tuesday to both German states, the evacuation of Germans from postwar Czechoslovakia, and questions connected with the amnesty announced by the president of the republic, were the main points at today's news conference organized by the Civic Forum Coordination Committee in Prague.

Lubos Dobrovsky, press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that from a political viewpoint the question of the evacuation of Sudeten Germans has been definitely resolved and, according to the report he received, the Czechoslovak Government is not considering an apology. He also said that this problem is not of decisive importance for our future life, but that we should rid ourselves of it. As the newsmen were told, the Civic Forum does not consider an apology to be the best way of solving this issue. It places the main emphasis on a broad European dialogue.

Commentary on Expelled Germans

LD0401154890 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Marcela Dolecova commentary]

[Text] The pronouncement of President Vaclav Havel, made at the time when he was still a private citizen, that Czechoslovakia should apologize to the Germans moved out of Czechoslovakia after World War II has evoked considerable agitation among a sizeable section of our public. It was all the greater because CSSR diplomatic head Jiri Dienstbier also spoke in a similar spirit in the Federal Assembly. The commentary by Marcela Doleckova, editor, considers the question: Apology—yes or no?

Although many official Czechoslovak documents spoke recently about the traditionally good relations with the GDR, they were, in sober terms, a kind of a camouflage at which history itself would cast an ironic smile. One is far from being able to mark relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia as traditionaly excellent. This relates, of course, not only to that part of Germany which is today's GDR, but to Germany as a whole. On the contrary, our big neighbor let us feel his physical superiority many times. The eve of World War II was a culmination of this. The conception of collective guilt is undoubtedly dangerous, and quite certainly unjust, but nobody from the older and middle generation of the Czechoslovak people will forget the fanaticized Germans who indulged in Nazism. The majority of ethnic Germans who lived for generations on the Czechoslovak territory also belonged to them. It was they who raised the slogan "Heim ins Reich"—"Home to the Reich," to Hitler's Reich. This slogan was inspired by the enforced, but today annuled, Munich agreement, as a consequence of which thousands of Czechs had to move out from the border territories of Czechoslovakia.

In this historical (?prism) one is ever more able to understand the natural dislike for apologizing for the move of the Germans from our country after the war, in which Nazi Germany unconditionally capitulated, all the more so as this decision did not constitute a Czechoslovak decision, but a verdict of the four victorious powers. On the other hand, the situation is fortunately different today. It is not only Czechoslovakia that wishes to live in good-neighborly relations with the two German states, but they themselves have the same interest. When speaking about a possible apology, the chief of Czechoslovak diplomacy could evidently see, in a diplomatic way, not only these relations of goodneighborliness, but also a common European home as a whole—a house in which the foundations have no place for historical passions and historical hatreds, feelings of grievances and injuries. Rather than worrying about the past we should focus on the present and the tomorrow.

Magyar Newspapers in Slovakia Show Nationalism

LD1412103289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Evelyn Forro gives a roundup on events in Czechoslovakia:

[Forro] The new Slovak Government, headed by Academician Milan Cic, has been formed. CTK has not yet given details on party affiliation. What is known for certain is that one of the deputy premiers' posts was given to someone of Magyar nationality, in the person of Sandor Varga. [passage omitted]

Finally an event which appears to be trivial, but is important from the viewpoint of the Magyar nationality. Up to now, the Slovak capital had been referred to only by the name Bratislava, in the Magyar newspapers of Slovakia. Now, they call it Pozsony [Hugarian for Bratislava]; its Slovak name figures only in brackets.

Magyars Want Talks With Havel, Dubcek

LD0301224990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] According to signs, the Cultural Association of Magyars in Czechoslovakia [Csemadok] is demanding an ever greater role for itself. Evelin Forro reports from Prague.

[Forro] Csemadok would like to hold talks with head of state Vaclav Havel and parliament chairman Alexander Dubcek about the nationality question. The Presidium of the Cultural Association of Magyar Workers in Czechoslovakia formulated this in a letter. In the letter, sent separately to Havel and Dubcek, they express good wishes on their election, and the hope that both will act for the benefit of both the Czechoslovak nations and nationalities. The Presidium asks head of state Havel, and parliamentary chairman Dubcek to receive a Csemadok delegation, so that they can brief them on the Magyar nationality's situation and discuss the problems.

The contents of the two letters will be printed in the Thursday edition of UJ SZO. It must be noted that the description daily paper of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee has disappeared from the heading. From now on, the Bratislava UJ SZO calls itself a Magyar left-wing paper in Czechoslovakia.

Havel Sees 'New Horizons' for Detente With U.S.

LD0401171690 Prague CTK in English 1520 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has thanked U.S. President George Bush for congratulations on his election, voicing the conviction that completely new horizons of cooperation between the two peoples are now opening up.

Vaclav Havel recalled the significant role played by the United States and President Wilson personally in the birth of modern Czechoslovakia, and voiced the belief that "we will follow up this often forgotten fact not only by a new quality of our relations but also by a joint contribution of our two states—although one so big and the other so small—to world peace."

Calfa Receives U.S. Envoy, USSR Minister

LD0401205490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa had a meeting in Prague today with Shirley Temple Black, the U.S. ambassador to the CSSR. In their talk, they assessed the existing results in the development of mutual relations and exchanged views on possibilities for furthering these relations in a number of spheres in the future.

Marian Calfa also had a meeting in Prague today with Konstantin Katushev, the Soviet minister for external economic relations. They discussed specific issues of further economic cooperation between the two countries, paying particular attention to the problem of supplies of oil and oil-based products to the CSSR.

Havel Receives Soviet Ambassador 4 Jan

LD0401142890 Prague CTK in English 1356 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today received Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin at his own request.

The ambassador handed over to the president a message of greetings and congratulations of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Thanks Supreme Soviet

LD0401222990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel thanked the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the USSR for congratulations on his being elected. He voiced the wish that the relations between the two states might be friendly and bilateraly useful so that they might significantly contribute towards deepening peace in Europe and all over the world. He stressed that he will do all he can for this purpose.

DPRK Students 'Suddenly' Recalled From CSSR

AU0501130090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 1

["jd, jl"-signed report: "Talents Put on Ice?; Korean Students Recalled From the CSSR"]

[Text] Information has recently reached our editorial office to the effect that the DPRK has suddenly recalled from Czechoslovakia all its students attending our schools. About 800 persons (including apprentices) are involved. They were taken back home around Christmas by specially chartered aircraft. Teachers of the Institute of Slavonic Studies at Charles University's Faculty of Philosophy in Prague have sent us a copy of their letter to the DPRK Embassy, in which they express serious concern over the fact that Korean students of Czech studies have been recalled, including 8 students in the final years of their studies who have spent much time working on their final diploma theses. "These are talented, industrious, and personally extremely friendly people whom we respect not only as future specialists but also as personalities," the letter states. "As you certainly know, some of them have already managed to put their acquired knowledge to practical use in the course of the work on the much-needed Czech-Korean dictionary. Their work should not remain without any benefit to our two nations."

The letter, in the conclusion of which the staff of the Institute of Slavonic Studies demands that the DPRK Embassy secretary for educational affairs ensure the immediate return of all these students, has not yet been answered. Yesterday we contacted by phone Ri Congnam [name as published], press secretary of the DPRK Embassy in the CSSR, who confirmed that the students from his country have really left. He said that he did not know the reasons but, in his opinion, all of them will return again. It is not yet known when this will happen, however.

Changes in Crown Exchange Rates Announced

LD0401182590 Prague CTK in English 1646 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus announced here today devaluation of the Czechoslovak crown against convertible currencies and its revaluation against non-convertible currencies. The measure coming into effect on January 8 was approved by the Czechoslovak Government at its session here today.

As follows from the minister's announcement at a press conference, the crown will be devalued by 18.6 percent in relation to convertible currencies and revalued by 10 percent in relation to the transferrable rouble. At the same time, the commercial and non-commercial exchange rates will be unified, with a tourist exchange rate, flexibly determined on the basis of offer and demand, applied for Western tourists (money exceeding the so-called minimum compulsory exchange) and for Czechoslovak tourists. The exchance rate is at present about 17 Czechoslovak crowns for one U.S. dollar and 9 crowns for one rouble. The tourist rate is 38 crowns for one U.S. dollar and 8 crowns for one rouble.

The adopted measure is expected to have a pro-export effect (its impact on Czechoslovakia's foreign trade will be positive). It will, however, have a negative impact on enterprises strongly dependent on imports. Vaclav Klaus emphasized that this is a partial solution that could be realized on the basis of the existing valid international agreements. At the forthcoming session of representatives of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance states in Sofia, Czechoslovakia intends to propose abolition of those agreements which make impossible the change of the crown's exchange rate in relation to East European currencies, and is ready to cancel them unilaterally, Vaclav Klaus said.

He also stated that the crown's devaluation will make necessary stricter protection of Czechoslovakia's home marked and also changes in retail prices in the nearest future.

Antonin Kapek Reportedly Attempts Suicide

LD0401183190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Today we received contradictory reports from Rokycany on a shooting and a fire at the residence of the former leading secretary of the Prague City Czechoslovak Communist Party Committee not far from Ujezd village in Rokycany district. Antonin Kapek was found unconscious not far from the scene of the fire and was transferred to the intensive care unit in Rokycany hospital.

The following and more detailed information comes from Jindrich Stahlavsky, who went first of all to Rokycany hospital:

[Begin recording] [Stahlavsky] I am speaking to a doctor who is from this department. What is your name?

[Palek] I am Dr Palek.

[Stahlavsky] What was the situation like when Mr Kapek was brought in this morning?

[Palek] Mr Kapek was brought in by an emergency ambulance. He received basic medical assistance and examination here, and has now been transferred to the teaching hospital in Plzen.

[Stahlevsky] How would you describe his state?

[Palek] It is not critical.

[Stahlavsky] You said that he was transfered to Plzen—to which department?

[Palek] To a psychiatric clinic.

[Stahlavsky] What was (?your conclusion) from the way he behaved?

[Palek] It was a suicide attempt.

[Stahlavsky] Afterward, I went to the district administration of the National Security Corps to speak to Major Miroslav Mastora.

[Mastora] At around 0800 a report was received at the District Administration of Rockycany National Security Corps that a fire in a building in the area which belongs to Antonin Kapek had occurred.

[Stahlavsky] (?I believe) that after the fire had been contained, a 9 millimeter Colt-(?Drant) was found in the ashes.

[Mastoral] A 9-millimeter weapon and one used cartridge were indeed found there. So far there has been no proof, from the point of view of ballistic examination, that this weapon was used.

[Stahlavsky] And what about the report, which literally flew around, about shooting from machineguns in this valley.

[Mastoral] Our investigation has so far not found proof of shooting in this area. We are rather inclined to proceed from the premise that these sounds were in fact caused during the fire by the roof breaking. [end recording]

Report on Interest in Founding New Organizations

AU0201150990

[Editorial Report] The Czechoslovak press between 19 and 28 December publishes a number of reports on the founding of new public organizations, civic initiatives, and political parties.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 19 December on page 2 carries a 50-word report on the establishment of the "preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Consumers' Association" [Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenskych Spotrebitelu] in Prague on 18 December. The aim of the association is said to be "the involvement of citizens in activities enabling the

protection of consumers' interests vis-a-vis manufacturers of goods and providers of services."

Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 21 December devotes its entire page 5 (4,000 words) to the presentation of "new political parties, civic initiatives, and other organizations." Under the headline "Who Is Who," VECERNI PRAHA provides information, inter alia, on the following organizations:

The Union of Inventors and Improvers [Svaz Vynalezcu a Zlepsovatelu]. According to the VECERNI PRAHA report, on 19 December a group of inventors and improvers decided to "renew the Czech Union of Inventors and Improvers, whose successful activity was administratively suspended in the seventies." The union's aim is to support the development of "creative technical work" as well as social and material recognition of inventors's work.

Movement for Sexual Equality [O Sexualni Rovnopravnost]. The movement's aim is equality between the homosexual and heterosexual public and protection and struggle against AIDS.

Society for Human Rights [Spolecnost Pro Lidska Prava]. The society, which is said to be the Czechoslovak section of the Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights, wants to promote human rights in Czechoslovakia and intends to cooperate with Charter 77, The Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted, The Club of Legal Assistance, the International Helsinki Federation, and the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee.

Democratic Youth [Demokraticka Mladez]. The founding of the association, which is "open to all democratic, non-Marxist youth groups and to the youth sections of democratic parties," was motivated by the "disagreement in principle with the monopoly position of the Socialist Youth Union until now." The representatives of the Democratic Youth demand the distribution of the Socialist Youth Union's property and of Government subsidies among all youth organizations.

Association of Friends of Children's Villages [Sdruzeni Pratel Detskych Vesnicek], which wants to support the establishment of villages for abandoned children.

Club of Christian Women [Klub Krestanskych Zen]. This "voluntary nonpolitical association of religious women" wants, inter alia, to assert "moral purity in the upbringing of our children" and respect for the "inviolability of family life." More specifically, the club wants to combat drug addiction, alcoholism, and sexual promiscuity among young people.

Czechoslovak Pacific League [Ceskoslovenska Pacifisticka Liga]. The league intends to "unify and coordinate the activities of followers of pacifism in Czechoslovakia and establish a movement contributing to the creation of a democratic, free, and peace-loving society." It reportedly demands a reduction and reorganization of the Army and the security forces, the conversion of "all" military production in Czechoslovakia to the civilian sector, and the elimination of "all violence-promoting phenomena" from the education process.

Union of the Blind [Unie Nevidomych], which wants to promote the interests of the blind and vision impaired.

All-People's Democratic Party [Vselidova Demokraticka Strana]. According to the party's "action program," it will seek "reasonable compromise" between socialism and capitalism and promote private enterprise. In addition, it will also "seek the departure of foreign workers, such as Vietnamese and Cubans, staying in our country" and "strive for the creation of sufficient job opportunities for our citizens leaving the Army, the administrative sphere, and other sectors." Other aims featuring in the action program include the repayment of foreign debt owed to Czechoslovakia "with money, raw materials, and goods and not with labor," and the use of "all material and financial resources" currently sent abroad in Czechoslovakia itself to "renew the national economy."

Forum of Members of the Public Security Corps [Forum Prislusniku VB]. The forum endorses the elimination of political influence from the work of the security bodies and demands that police members have a say in the formulation of legislation and regulations concerning their work. According to the VECERNI PRAHA report, the forum also wants the security forces to change from a "repressive" into a "preventive" agency and thus gain the public's confidence.

Syndicate of Journalists [Syndikat Novinaru]. This "new organization of journalists" was founded in Prague on 16 December. The constituent session, which was attended by some 1,500 journalists from the Czech Socialist Republic, declared that the syndicate is a "voluntary, independent, nonpolitical, professional association" of Czech and Moravian journalists. It wants to defend freedom of speech and provide legal protection to its members, regardless of their political affiliation and belief.

The founding of the other organizations which are introduced in the VECERNI PRAHA feature—Confederation of Political Prisoners [Konfederace Politickych Veznu], Christian Democratic Party [Krestanskodemokraticka Strana], Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party [Ceskoslovenska Socialni Demokracie], and the Czechoslovak Green Party [Ceskoslovenska Strana Zelenych]—is covered by previously filed items. In each case, the VECERNI PRAHA feature provides the names and addresses of people who can be contacted by those interested in joining the new groups.

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 27 December on page 2 carries a 200-word CTK report on the Men's Union [Svaz Muzu], whose preparatory committee reportedly started its activity already in 1988. The union's aim is to change the current law on the family because it is "discriminatory against men" and to address specific male problems such as men's shorter life expectancy, specific

diseases, loneliness, or the influence of life in "coerced collectives" (such as during military service).

Prague PRACE in Czech on 27 December on page 2 carries a 150-word statement by the Preparatory Committee of the Party of the Czech Countryside [Strana Ceskeho Venkova], which aims at "the overall political, economic, ecological, and cultural recovery of rural areas." According to the preparatory committee, the party has "nothing in common" with the agricultural party as it wants to be the spokesman for all citizens whose life is linked with the countryside, regardless of their profession.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 December on page 2 carries a 60-word report on the founding of the preparatory committee of the Union of Corporate Lawyers [Zvaz Podnikovych Pravnikov], which wants to represent the interests of the 8,000 corporate lawyers in the country.

On the same page, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 200-word report on the founding of the preparatory committee of the "Through Permanent Opposition Toward Democracy Party" [Strana Permanentnou Opoziciou Za Demokraciu]. According to the party's founding manifesto, historical analysis shows that uncontrolled power is the basic cause of the loss of democratic guarantees. This is why the party intends to be in permanent opposition to any ruling group "as the only guarantee of a permanently functioning democracy." On the same page, PRAVDA also publishes statements issued by the preparatory committees of the "Association for the Protection of Castles, Chateauxs, and Fortresses" [Spolok na Ochranu Hradov, Zamkov, a Pevnosti], of the "All-Slovak Forum of Inventors and Improvers" [Celoslovenske Forum Vynalezcov and Zlepsovatelov], and of the "Union of Special-Interest Associations" [Zvaz Zaujmovych Zdruzeni], which wants to associate hobbyists of all directions. Finally, Bratislava PRAVDA on 28 December on page 2 also publishes a 50-word appeal by the "Preparatory Committee of the Union of Former Political Prisoners" [Zvaz Byvalych Politickych Vaznov] in which all people who have been sentenced for "crimes against the republic" between 1948 and 1989 are requested to send their names and addresses to the preparatory committee's address in Piestany. Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 December on page 2 carries a 200-word report on the founding of the "Union of Czech Free Thinkers" [Svaz Ceskych Volnomyslenkaru], whose aim is the "deepening and dissemination of the materialistic world view." According to the report, the union will also "keep in the center of its interest the sociopolitical activities of religious organizations," should these "touch upon the rights and freedoms" of atheists.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 50-word "appeal" by the "Preparatory Committee of the Union of Romanies" [Svaz Romu], which calls for the formation of local branches of the union, and an 80-word report on the founding of the preparatory committee of an organization calling itself "For the European Home—Association for the Dissemination of the Idea of European Cooperation" [Za Evropsky Dum—Sdruzeni pro Sireni Myslenky Evropske Spoluprace]. The constituent session of the organization in Prague on 27 December, which was attended by 60 "advocates of the idea of a common European home," was reportedly addressed by Professor Jiri Hajek, former minister of foreign affairs. All Bratislava PRAVDA and RUDE PRAVO reports on new organizations published on 28 December provide the names and addresses of contacts.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 28 December on page 3, under the "What Is What" rubric, carries brief descriptions (50 to 150 words) of the following groups:

Civic Democratic Alliance [Obcanska Demokraticka Aliance]. The alliance is said to identify with "Western-style political conservatism and the principles of economic liberalism." Its preparatory committee, which was founded on 17 December, includes signatories of Charter 77, members of the Civil Liberties Movement, as well as economists from the Forecasting and Economic Institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

Czechoslovak Eagle [Ceskoslovensky Orel]. The program of this sports organization is "care of physical and mental health on Christian foundations." The organization wants to build on the traditions of Czechoslovak Eagle, which operated in Czechoslovakia until 1948 when it was "forced to terminate its activity."

Sokol [Falcon]. Another sports organization banned after 1948, which identifies with the "traditions of democracy, humanism, patriotism, and a harmonious physical, as well as moral development of every individual and the entire nation." According to the MLADA FRONTA item, at the beginning of December the preparatory committee of Sokol issued an appeal for the founding of local Sokol clubs.

Czechoslovak Humanist Movement [Humanisticke Hnuti Ceskoslovenska], whose aim is "the humanistic development of the personality and society as well as the creation of conditions for such a development."

The MLADA FRONTA item does not provide any details on the organizational structure or leading personalities of the above groups.

On the same day, on page 4, MLADA FRONTA publishes a 200-word "appeal" by the "Club of Street Artists" [Klub Poulicnich Umelcu] which was founded in "mid-December" as an "umbrella organization" for artists appearing in "freely accessible places." The mission of the club is to provide entertainment for the widest public as well as information about "minority and alternative genres, especially in the theatrical field."

On the same day, on page 8, MLADA FRONTA carries a 300-word report on a meeting between unnamed representatives of the "almost 100,000 young people" who perform various "nontraditional sports" (such as indoor soccer, lacrosse, skateboard, or snowboard) and

Martin Ulcak, chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, under the masthead of which all these sports have been performed thus far. At this meeting, the intention was reportedly expressed to become independent of the "hamstringing directives and bureaucratic principles of the Socialist Youth Union apparatus" and to set up the "Association of Nontraditional Sports" [Asociace Netradicnich Sportu].

RUDE PRAVO Report

AU0301140290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 89 p 2

["Answering Readers' Questions" column by Rostislav Valasek: "About the Founding of New Organizations"]

[Excerpt] Does anyone at all have an idea how many civic initiatives, voluntary organizations, or political parties have been founded in the past few weeks? asks our reader Jiuri Kral from Brno. He also would like to know how one should proceed when founding new organizations.

[Valasek] There is no central register of voluntary special-interest and social organizations. According to the available data, there are more than 70 active organizations statewide. The social changes are also reflected in the greater interest of our citizens in associating themselves. Between the beginning of November and 28 December, the Federal Ministry of the Interior received 28 requests to approve the statutes from organizations intending to become active statewide. Under administrative review are, for example, the applications from the Czechoslovak Society of Vegetarians [Ceskoslovenska spolecnost vegetarianu]; the Czechoslovak-Austrian Friendship Club [Klub ceskoslovensko-rakouskeho pratelstvi]; the Czechoslovak Union of Men [Ceskoslovensky svaz muzu]; as well as the voluntary organization of patients who depend on an artificial kidney or who have had kidney surgery.

In the spirit of the law, the organizations' rules and thus also the fates of the organizations are to be decided within 30-60 days. Depending on the territorial scope of their activity, the national committees or the Ministries of the Interior and Living Environment of the republics are appurtenant: for voluntary organizations which want to be active throughout CSSR territory, it is the Federal Ministry of the Interior. [passage omitted]

CTK Review

LD0401143890 Prague CTK in English 1429 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 4 (CTK)—From December 1, 1989 eleven new organizations have sprung to life in the Czech Socialist Republic thus joining 73 former voluntary social organizations in Czechoslovakia. The statutes of other 20 organizations wait for their approval.

In the first place it is the Civic Forum that - starting as a spontaneously born citizens' initiative - has become a dominant political force and a base for coordination and a dialogue of all the streams of the rising pluralistic system of political parties and independent activities.

The next is the Club for Democratic Socialism Obroda that strives to strengthen the organizations of democratic movement in the whole country on the grounds of the Civic Forum, to enhance equal civic rights and justice, social certainties, free development of education, etc. The Club Obroda unites many former members and functionaries of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1968. Its transformation into a political party is not excluded.

An organization called Masaryk's Democratic Movement strives for protection of civil rights and liberties in the spirit of the humanistic ideas of the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic Tomas G. Masaryk.

After twenty years, the Czech Junak (Union of Scouts) has been reestablished. The Czech Union of Environmentalists existing before has got a partner in the Ecological Society. The Czech Union for the Protection of Monuments will take care of monuments.

The statutes of the Union of Musicians and Writers' Community, as well as of the Authors' and Musicians' Union have also been approved.

Applications for registrations of other new organizations are being processed. This concerns namely the Association of Friends of Children's Villages and the Union of Czech Physicians (both organizations were set up in the sixties and wish now to renew their activities), The Democratic Union of Gypsies in the Czech Socialist Republic. Writers ask also for setting up the Czech association of authors of detective stories and adventure books and the association of sci-fi authors. Seeking recognition is a men's union, probably a rarity in Europe, whose aim is to participate in shaping state family planning and family policy of the state, to stand against curtailing the rights of one of the parents, to struggle against negative impacts affecting the youth, etc.

However, not all newly proclaimed organizations are being registered. Thus, the Society for a Merrier Present Day has not been registered yet. Many Czechs think, however, that it would be a pity if this society limited its activity to a mere proclaiming of its name.

Calfa Interview on Government Plans for 1990

AU0501093790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with CSSR Premier Marian Calfa by CTK; date and place not given: "Opening Ourselves to the World"]

[Text] Prague— CSSR Premier Marian Calfa replied to CTK questions concerning the Federal Government's tasks in 1990.

[CTK] With what is the Government of National Accord entering the year 1990?

[Calfa] As I stated already in Parliament, nothing can dissuade Czechoslovakia from the path it has started toward a democratic political system. This irreversible fact and the necessity of its implementation in everyday life is the most substantial asset with which we enter the year 1990.

[CTK] What are the main tasks facing the government from the viewpoint of national economic management?

[Calfa] A well-functioning economy is the basic prerequisite for Czechoslovakia's further development. We shall consistently part with the system of management that prevailed in our country for many years. Our strategic goal is to prepare the transition to a market economy. Only in this way is it possible to ensure economic rationality, a rise in the standard of living, and an efficient use of resources. We have a lot to make up for as regards the state of the environment, the standard of production equipment, and the introduction of modern technologies, where we have missed the boat. We consider the consistent opening of the Czechoslovak economy to the outside world to be the decisive condition of the success of a genuine, that is, radical, economic reform.

[CTK] Could you specify the government's legislative program for the immediate future?

[Calfa] The democratization of our life and changes in the economy are inseparably linked with the need for many legislative changes. A number of laws in the national economic sphere have already been prepared, the work on other laws or amendments to existing laws continues intensively. We do not have much time, yet we want to prepare good, legislatively properly worked out laws. This is a highly exacting task. In the political sphere the legislative program will concern mainly the electoral legislation, laws on assembly and association, and the law on the press. Work on the new Constitution will also continue this year; all the changes of principle which we currently experience in political development will be expressed in the Constitution.

[CTK] One speaks about Czechoslovakia's return to Europe. What is your notion of this?

[Calfa] A true opening to the world. We seek the development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation with all countries of the world. Cooperation within CEMA must go much deeper and must become far more efficient. We put emphasis on establishing contacts with the European Communities and are interested in specific cooperation with all other countries. Economic cooperation presupposes good relations in the political and cultural spheres. Sharing in the building of a common European home in the interest of peace and friendship among nations, in the interest of people living on our continent and all over the world, is the basis of our policy. The removal of barriers at the common borders with the FRG and Austria is the beginning and a symbol of our further course of action, the beginning of the economic and political process of our return to the arms of the free nations of Europe.

Adamec, Mohorita Congratulate Dubcek on Election

AU0501121490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 89 p 1

["zr"-sign ed report: "CPCZ Representatives Congratulate"]

[Text] Prague—Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party], and Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ, have congratulated Alexander Dubcek on his election as chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. The letter states:

Esteemed Mr Chairman, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee we sincerely congratulate you on your election as chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

In this election, endorsed by deputies who are members of the CPCZ, we see an important step toward national understanding, in the spirit of the brotherhood of the Czech and the Slovak nations, in the interest of democratic changes in society by means of a dialogue and agreements of all main political forces.

The CPCZ, embarking upon the path of renewal, considers the legacy of January 1968 to be the source of ideological and political inspiration for its new policy aimed the developing democratic socialism.

We fully support the endeavor of the constitutional officials of our state to create the necessary political and legal conditions for continuing in a democratic manner to realize the revolutionary social changes while respecting laws, rights, and freedoms of the citizens.

Esteemed Mr Chairman, we wish to assure you that we will collaborate with you in the implementation of your constitutional tasks. We wish you robust health and much success in your work.

Sincerely, L. Adamec,

V. Mohorita

Comparison of Dubcek Acceptance Speech

AU0201133090

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on page 1 carries the 1,100-word speech delivered by Alexander Dubcek in the CSSR Federal Assembly on 28 December, upon his election as chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. Comparison with the item headlined "Dubcek Address," published in the 29 December East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 19, column 2, shows the two versions to be identical, except for the following variations:

Paragraph four, penultimate and last sentences read: ...the peoples. The supporting [nosny] systems of dogmatism and antipopular power have... (rewording per RUDE PRAVO version);

Paragraph five, last sentence to paragraph six, second sentence reads: ...This historical lesson which our people

have taught their highest legislative body also represents a probe into the conscience and civic attitude of each one of us. (new paragraph)

The moral obligation..."supplying word, rewording, deleting sentence);

Paragraph eight, sentences one and two read: ...months to come. I am confident of expressing the wish and conviction of the people of this country when I say that in the coming period...(rewording);

Paragraph nine, last sentence to paragraph ten, first sentence reads: ...an open dialogue, on a political level and in a cultured way, at the roundtable where even the most complex problems have been resolved in the past days. (new paragraph)

The nature of...(rewording)

Comparison of Havel Armed Forces Address

AU0401123290

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 3 January on page 1 carries the 250-word "Order by the CSSR President" issued by President Vaclav Havel on the occasion of taking over the supreme command of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces. Comparison with the item headlined "Havel Issues Order to Armed Forces 2 Jan," published in the 3 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 30, column two, shows the two versions to be identical, except for differences in paragraphing and the following variations:

Paragraph one, sentence one, to paragraph two, sentence one reads: [Text] Members of the CSSR Armed Forces! (new paragraph)

In line with Constitutional Law No. 143 of 1968 I have assumed supreme command over the Armed Forces. (new paragraph)

For defense of...(supplying alternate paragraph)

Last paragraph, sentences two and three read: ...aimed at building them [the Armed Forces]. (new paragraph)

Do continue to...(supplying alternate words, editorial notation for clarity.)

Changes in Interior Ministry's Work Proposed

AU1912162689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 6

[CTK report]

[Text] Prague—CSSR Premier Marian Calfa, together with CSSR First Deputy Premiers Valter Komarek and Jan Carnogursky, received CSSR deputy ministers of the interior in Prague on Tuesday [12 December].

The CSSR premier acquainted the leadership of the Federal Ministry of the Interior with the government's concept of the state's security policy. The government leadership considers the main task to be to fully adapt the activity of the federal ministry and the entire National Security Corps to the new social conditions in which the monopoly of one political party has been constitutionally abolished, and create from the organizational units of the Federal Ministry of the Interior a full-fledged and efficiently functioning component of the state mechanism, based on democratic foundations. It empowered the first deputy to adopt concrete cadre measures and appointed its own plenipotentiary for effective control and to supply information to the government about the activity of the ministry.

The CSSR premier, together with the first deputy premiers, determined concrete tasks regarding the further course.

New Interior Minister Interviewed 1 Jan

AU0501121890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 2 Jan 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Richard Sacher, LLD, CSSR minister of interior, by H. Blahova on 1 January; place not given: "The Ministry of Interior Should Serve Citizens"]

[Text] Brother Richard Sacher, LLD, was appointed federal minister of interior on 30 December. Yesterday afternoon we asked him for a brief interview.

[Blahova] What is the position of the Ministry of Interior in the present political situation?

[Sacher] Its position and tasks stem from the policy statement delivered by CSSR Premier Mr Marian Calfa [in the Federal Assembly on 19 December]. Two basic ideas were expressed there—making impossible the misuse of security forces against the people of this country and fully adjusting their activity to the new social conditions. I would like to add the following: No matter who holds the post of minister of interior, whether he is without party affiliation or a member of a political party, he must not enforce the security policy of his party or of the group which recommended him to the post but the policy of the government.

We must attend to it that people stop being afraid of the Ministry of Interior and its agencies and that, by its activity, this government department fully guarantees the values which we have won in our gentle revolution.

[Blahova] Which cause, in particular, should be served by the security forces?

[Sacher] No matter whether we call these forces the police or members of the National Security Corps, they should always serve solely and exclusively the cause of general well-being. If this activity is understood as a service, it is an immensely difficult and responsible work. I would like to stress that, from the position of my office, I shall do my best to see to it that the uniform of the security forces is worn with honor. However, it is not enough to speak about this; people themselves must convince themselves that these bodies already have a

different character today, that it is possible to effectively protect the property, health, and lives of citizens without the need to spy, to tap telephones, without unwarranted house searches, without threats and intimidation in the name of some imagined general interest, as used to be the case until recently. We would like to jointly achieve that our citizens respect the security forces, particularly criminologists. This is an exceedingly demanding profession, which enjoys formidable respect in every advanced democratic state.

[Blahova] What about training for this profession?

[Sacher] The police must carry out its activity within the framework of the law and never outside the law. When it proceeds in line with these intentions it enjoys citizens' trust and it is then no problem to select for its ranks capable and talented young men of high moral principles. Their education should take place within the framework of the civic community, chiefly at civilian facilities such as the faculties of law and the like. Surely, some specialist departments will also require special training facilities. However, their students should pursue their education at civilian establishments for as long as possible.

[Blahova] How can we help the security forces?

[Sacher] Above all, by behaving as cultured citizens, as arises from the tradition of our nations.

Mohorita on 1968 Reforms, Elections

AU0401140490 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Report on "the first interview given to an Austrian journalist" with Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, by Armin Wolf in Prague; date not given—Mohorita's statements in Czech with superimposed German translation]

[Text] The main reason for Vasil Mohorita's lightning career was, above all, his youth. The 37-year-old man does not carry the burden of the suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968 and the subsequent purges. Even though he climbed up step by step the ladder of his career as a functionary just during the time of the infamous normalization after 1968, today he assesses the reforms of 1968 in a positive way.

[Begin Mohorita recording] When I look at this from today's point of view, that is, from 1990, and with the political experiences I have gathered, I have to say that the reforms of 1968 were correct and justified and that they really are a chance to create a socialist state of that type which we now imagine. [end recording]

Mohorita wants a really democratic socialism, in a pluralistic multiparty system. As political examples he cites the communist parties in France and Italy, but also the policy of the Socialist International. What is still communist in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] after the abolition of its claim to leadership, of democratic centralism, and other dogmas, which had been valid for decades, I ask the first secretary. At least the name, he answers. Immediately afterwards, he notes with concern: Today the party is in a profound crisis. For Mohorita it is clear who is to be blamed for this.

[Begin Mohorita recording] The Central Committee, that is, the former party leadership, is to be blamed for this crisis. They did not react at all to the changes, which took place in Europe and, in particular, in Eastern Europe. They ignored everything that was going on in the Soviet Union, in Poland, and in Hungary, and, what is most important, in the GDR. It was a typical, clear example of not understanding the real events and the situation. [end recording]

Mohorita himself feels completely innocent. Already much earlier he had said that the situation could not be saved in this way, he had repeatedly made critical remarks. Once he was almost expelled from the Central Committee for this, he says.

Now, Mohorita is cultivating his role as a party rebel. For the interview the pleasant, round-faced man receives us in a red-blue checkered, open-necked shirt with short sleeves, as if he still were the head of the youth association.

Yes, already years ago he had read a play by Vaclav Havel, he says; but he did not like it particularly. He has also read books by Zdenek Mlynar, the ostracized Central Committee secretary of the Prague Spring. Now I know that Mlynar was correct, Mohorita says today. And he does not tire of stressing that he has never claimed any privileges, even though he would have had the opportunity to do so. I never shopped in special shops and I never had things flown in from abroad, as others did, Mohorita says. He has many critics among the old party leadership, who will now spread lies and evil rumors about him. The secretary says this in a way as if he were proud of this.

He is not very optimistic about the first free parliamentary elections for 40 years next summer.

[Begin recording] [Mohorita] I expect that our party will not have no representatives in the legislative bodies, but I do not think that the elections will yield surprisingly good results for us.

[Wolf] Can you express this in percentage points?

[Mohorita] I do not dare to do this.

[Wolf] Will it be rather 40 percent or rather 5 percent?

[Mohorita] Somewhere in between.

[Wolf] You are the supreme functionary of your party, responsible for organization. What would be your personal election goal? When would you say that a result is so bad that you can no longer accept it, that you will resign? What would you be satisfied with?

[Mohorita] Well, as regards the lowest limit, we will have to be satisfied with the lowest figure, that is, not satisfied, but we have to accept it. Concerning the upper limit, I think we might achieve 30 percent. But this will, of course, depend on the extent to which our party will be able to overcome the crisis in which it is at the moment.

[Wolf] Can you imagine that the CPCZ might go into opposition after the next elections, that is, that there will not be a single CPCZ minister anymore?

[Mohorita] If we, as I said, advocate a society with a pluralistic social system, as our action program and our party documents say, we have to consider such a possibility, too. [end recording]

Mohorita intends to reduce the enormous party apparatus already before the elections. In the so-called House of the Central Committee, that is, in the party headquarters, alone, 700 of the 900 employees will have to leave, he announces. We no longer need so many people and, above all, we need other people, Mohorita says. The Central Committee will also have to move out of the gigantic, beautiful building on Ludvik Svoboda Quay in Prague. The building is to be turned into the Judicial Palace.

Vasil Mohorita has to give up his comfortable office, which he has just moved into. Actually, this is a pity, he says, pointing out of the window. I have lived over there since I was born. In the future, it will not be so comfortable for me.

1968 Workers Councils Resume Activity

LD2312195789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] The Coordination Committee of Workers Councils at the enterprises, which was functioning in the years 1968-69, has renewed its activity. The professional standing of a number of its members was affected because of their work in the committee after the committee and the Workers Councils had to suspend their work. For example, the committee intends to press for amending the law on state enterprise, which would express the separation of the enterprises from the administrative bodies of state power, to further develop the findings from the enterprise self-management movement from the Prague Spring period, to back the renewal of the present bodies of enterprise self-management on the basis of democratic elections and so on.

Commission Questions Witnesses on 17 Nov Events

LD0401211890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The parliamentary commission instructed to supervise the investigation of 17 November events also met today. Pavel Dombrovsky reports:

[Dombrovsky] A string of witnesses arrived all day long. So far, 84 of them have been heard. This is the stage the investigation has reached. The point is that new facts and connections are coming to light every day.

[Begin recording] [Dombrovsky] Did you find anything interesting out from Zdenek Horcik, former mayor of Prague?

[Unidentified speaker] The former mayor held a position similar to Adamec and the enlightened circles in the Federal Interior Ministry that the methods used over the last year can no longer be continued and that the forces of power should be replaced by political forces. Unfortunately he was not heeded, because Stepan's influence and power was immeasurable, particularly in Prague. [end recording]

[Dombrovsky] The evidence of the State Security Chiefs Dr Colonel Vykypel and Dr Colonel Mencl was awaited with great interest here today. They were summoned to explain the blank spots in the State Security's contribution to the November events. You yourselves can judge their answers.

[Begin recording] [Dombrovsky] Can I please ask, can you tell us what the State Security's contribution to the 17 November events was?

[Unidentified State Security chief] [words indistinct] as far as our unit is concerned?

[Dombrovsky] How many people in your unit took part in this action?

[Security chief] A minimum number, they were carrying out only (?minor) tasks.

[Dombrovsky] What tasks?

[Security chief] They were carrying out an operative survey in the city to signal the places where violations of public order might occur.

[Dombrovsky] Are you quite confident that your members who were there did not take part in the beatings?

[Security chief] I am absolutely confident. First, the members were not even equipped with truncheons and other forms of the (?armaments).

[Dombrovsky] How many people were there? Can you tell us?

[Security chief] Yes, I can tell you, there were 21 members.

[Dombrovsky] These people were right on the National Boulevard?

[Security chief] No, they were at Albertov and Vysehrad and then they accompanied the demonstration and the procession marching along Bedrich Engels Embankment right up to the National Boulevard and they did not go any further.

[Dombrovsky] Does this then mean that they intentionally took this procession there, to the National Boulevard?

[Security chief] No way, they merely walked behind the procession. [end recording]

[Dombrovsky] Colonel Vaclav Zajicek, chief of the department of the federal Interior Ministry, also faced the commission today.

[Begin recording] [Dombrovsky] You were an employee of the 13th department of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee?

[Zajicek] If any kind of information about prepared actions of this nature existed, then the minister of the interior briefed the general secretary. He briefed the general secretary in the presence of the head of the department. The results and the conclusions that we reached were then sent back to us in the form of a report, for example in the shape of an agreement expressed by the general secretary with the draft measures adopted by the federal minister of the interior aimed at solving these problems. [end recording]

Enrichment of Bratislava Officials Investigated

LD0401151390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The commission of deputies elected at the last session of the national committee of Bratislava has started to investigate the case of enrichment of officials and senior workers in the capital of Slovakia since 1968.

The commission started its activity by asking the directors of housing enterprises to work out a list of persons who came to own apartments, villas, plots, or gardens in an unwarranted way or had their apartments expensively refitted in an unjustifiable manner.

Evidence Against Power Abusers Sought

AU0501121290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Party's Cleansing"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Presidium of the Bratislava CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] City Committee has decided to set up a commission, the task of which will be cleansing the party of discredited persons. It asks Bratislava citizens to help it to obtain arguments substantiated by verifiable facts about the activity of those who in the past misused their membership and their functions in the party to unlawfully enrich themselves, or to violate laws in other ways, as well as those who by their personal courage, despite snubs or persecution, succeeded with their honesty in defying the aforementioned ones. Written information is to be sent to: The CPSL City Committee, Vajanskeho Quay 5, 815 90 Bratislava.

Chief of Prison Guards on Concessions to Prisoners

AU0501100590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Dec 89 p 2

["zr, CTK"-signed report: "Tension in Prisons"]

[Text] Prague— In the last few days we published several reports on the atmosphere in the establishments of corrective education. The convicts have submitted to the state bodies a number of demands, many of which contradict one another. According to our information, tension in the prisons has not subsided. The convicts are waiting whether, when, and to what extent an amnesty will be decreed on the occasion of the election of the CSSR president. We believe that the decision ought to be made as soon as possible for life in the prisons to quickly return to the normal regime.

A CTK correspondent spoke about the situation in the establishments of corrective education and prisons in the Czech Socialist Republic to Colonel Jaroslav Konecny, chief of the Administration of the Corrective Education Corps for the Czech Socialist Republic:

A commission has been established to verify all grievances of the convicts; it is composed of deputies of the Czech National Council and invited experts. The public will be informed about the results. Naturally, this will not happen tomorrow or next week. Because the convicts criticized the law on the execution of punishment, contending that they are discriminated against by this law, I have decided on some temporary measures with the consent of the minister of justice of the Czech Socialist Republic. These concern, for example, an increased number of visits, the possibility to receive more parcels, more frequent exchange of letters with family members, abolition of the control of official mail, and the possibility to consume coffee.

Speaking about the problem of believers in the establishments of corrective education, Colonel Jaroslav Konecny stated that convicts have already been allowed to read religious literature. Should the prisoners wish so, visits by clergymen will also be made possible. Religious services have been held in some establishments already.

Deputy Premiers on Church, Economic Issues

LD2312112889 Prague CTK in English 2050 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka announced concrete results of his talks in the Vatican at a press conference here today following shortly after the meeting of the Federal Government.

He said that from today on ordained Roman Catholic Bishop Karel Otcenasek, former administrator of the parish in Trmice, North Bohemia, can assume the office of bishop of the Kraluv Dvur Diocese.

The Holy See decided that from today Jan Hriko will be bishop of the Orthodox Catholic Church in Presov and of all Czechoslovakia. Till his ordination he will be administrator of the office. Former Bishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in Olomouc Frantisek Vanak was named archbishop today.

Josef Hromadka said that tackling the problem of vacant bishoprics is now fully the affair of the Vatican. It accepts "modus vivendi" i.e. the duty to announce the name of the candidate to the Czechoslovak Government.

The Holy See considers the appointment of bishops to the vacant bishoprics in Czechoslovakia the first step and prerequisite for further development of relations of the Roman Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak State.

Jan Korec, already ordained, is one of the bishops who can be taken into consideration as diocesan bishop. It is up to him whether he will decide to accept the office. In this connection Josef Hromadka pointed out that the Vatican wants that active, capable and young people are appointed to the vacant bishoprics.

Asked by CTK whether new seminaries are to be established, Josef Hromadka said that another two could be established, one in Moravia and one in Slovakia. This, however, depends on church and technical possibilities. Also renewed could be church orders which de jure did not cease to exist in Czechoslovakia.

Vladimir Janka left the post of director of the Secretariat for Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Czechoslovak Government-Deputy minister, Josef Hromadka said.

Czechoslvovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek stressed that the basic legislation of the economic reform must be elaborated anew. The laws must ensure equal status of all types of ownership. The establishment of joint-stock companies with foreign participation, reasonable reprivatization and advantages to entrepreneur, private enterprise, which will increase offer, is fully desirable.

Valtr Komarek pointed out that the idea of the economic reform inseparably linked with inflation and unemployment is a quite false view, enforced on by the past ideology. He admitted that the Czechoslovak economy has big problems, e.g. technical obsoleteness of production means, deferred projects and high demands on materials and power, but its potencial cannot be underestimated. It cannot, however, be released without foreign capital, competition, demonopolization, openness towards the world and private enterprise.

Valtr Komarek said that Czechoslovak citizens have decided to return to the modern civilization. Whether the final social system will be socialist, such as for instance in Sweden, or liberal, such as in the FRG, is a question of the decision of people themselves. Its character can naturally change according to the results of the elections.

Havel Meets Bishop for Exiled Czechs 23 Dec

AU0201115690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Meeting With Bishop Skarvada"]

[Text] Vatican-based Bishop Jaroslav Skarvada, who is entrusted with the spiritual administration of Czechs living abroad, paid a brief visit to the CSSR, in the course of which he met with Vaclav Havel Saturday [23 December] morning. The meeting was attended by Doctor Tomas Halik, Cardinal Tomasek's adviser for the "Decade of Spiritual Renewal of the Nation" project, who said that Czechoslovak Catholics with Cardinal Tomasek at their head unequivocally support Vaclav Havel's candidacy for the post of president of the republic and expect respect for all rights of the believers in the new, democratic Czechoslovakia.

Former Officials Questioned on Actions

LD0401200290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1543 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A decision on whether the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] general secretary, Erich Honecker, is capable of being taken into custody can be expected soon and will be made by an independent medical commission. This was announced by the ad-hoc People's Chamber Committee for the Investigation of Cases of Abuse of Office, Corruption, and Personal Enrichment.

During further public questioning of former top functionaries in Berlin today, with which the committee continued its inquiries, it was also announced that the committee had examined the conditions of imprisonment of those people in custody. No priviledges were granted. The prisoners were accommodated individually in normally furnished cells and given the usual food. Those in custody were Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Werner Krolikowski, Gerald Goetting, Harry Tisch, Willi Stoph, Guenter Kleiber, Karlheinz Martini, and others.

Former SED Politburo Member Kurt Hager admitted to the committee that he felt great guilt and assumed responsibility for everything that had been unsuccessful. The spheres of culture, national education, the health service, sciences, the Academy for Social Sciences at the former SED Central Committee, the "Karl Marx" Party College, the Institute for Marxism/Leninism and the Dietz publishing house [the SED publishing house] were under Hager's jurisdiction in his position. Furthermore, he was director of the Politburo's Culture Commission as well as director of the Commission of the Directors of the Institutes for Social Sciences to which the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence and universities and colleges belonged. For 30 years, he was director of the Public Education Committee in the People's Chamber.

With the restrictions imposed on the writers and artists, every "case" had had its own special history. This had, however, been an "expression of the whole political and cultural-political orientation at the time," and he conceded that "seen from today, it had a certain pettiness." The cultural policy postulated by him at the beginning of the 1970's had been "still too open" for some comrades. Asked about his opinion on the exodus of artists from the GDR, Hager said that he had invited many for personal talks in order to persuade them to stay here. However, they had raised objections in principle to the political and intellectual-cultural situation in the GDR. He had not been able to comprehend this. The expulsion of Wolf Biermann, who had worked "as an active opposer," also had to be put down to the "bureaucratic-administrative behavior at the time." Looking back, he considered this decision to be wrong.

The "dispute" that he had had with Robert Haveman after the latter's lectures on "Dialectics Without Dogma" at the Humboldt University ended for his opponent with expulsion from the SED, the loss of his teaching post and massive repression on the part of the State Security Service, among other things. However, Hager said, he was not so influential that he could have prevented Havemann's persecution. He had often been in the minority in the leadership collective; there the "security concept and discipline" had been of prime importance.

Hager described "arrogance toward the Soviet Union", and failing to check what had to be changed in the political structures in the GDR with a view to an evolutionary change toward greater participation on the part of the citizens as the greatest mistakes by the party leadership after 1985. He, too, had intiated too-few such thoughts and too late, and had wrongly assessed the social situation. "The signs of the times should have been understood" at the 11th SED Party Congress at the latest.

The question was asked in connection with his former function as chairman of the People's Chamber National Education Committee, whether its task of checking on the national education system had ever been fulfilled. He must have noticed the massive loss of general knowledge of history and language as well as of scientific education, in addition to the grading system that assessed the teachers' performance according to their classes' average grade, or the increase in school relegations. Hager replied that the committee "developed lively work," "debated all issues," and that he had "thoroughly discussed problems in the schools with Margot Honecker and made recommendations." However, he added that the concept of "general education" had been interpreted too narrowly and that artistic subjects had been undervalued.

"The People's Chamber deputies reacted to the remarks made to the committee by "its" former president, Horst Sindermann, with anger and indignation. In particular, the fact that the date for the convening of the People's Chamber called for after the change had "not been confirmed" by the SED Politburo and that, in spite of vehement demands by parliament members, he had submitted to this illegitimate interference from outside, gave rise to severe criticism from the people's representatives. "I was not aware at that time of the significance of this decision," Sindermann said.

The fact that the Sindermann family with their children had bought goods to the value of about 200,000 mark in the Wandlitz special shop over the past 2 years and had spent about 80 percent of this on groceries gave rise to astonishment from those present. Shortly before the closing of this sales establishment, four Western television sets had been purchased by "House 3," the address of Horst Sindermann, who said that he had a monthly income of 4,500 marks. He considered filling up cars with free gasoline for himself and his sons in Wandlitz "normal, because it was a custom." With the enumeration of further privileges, including free holiday flights to

Greece and Bulgaria as well as hunting in the Schorfheide, Sindermann compared this to the good way of life of leading Western politicians. "I consider myself completely co-responsible for the policies that were carried out," Sindermann said. "Today I realize that the privileges that we assumed were not in proportion with our Marxist policies, and that with us a national arrogance could arise vis-a-vis other socialist countries, which we, as Communists, should never have tolerated."

The hearing of the former state secretary, Kurt Kleinert, the one-time head of the Council of Ministers' Secretariat, dealt with the construction and extension of houses for "nomenclature cadres." Such cadres were the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, ministers, state secretaries, deputy ministers, directors of offices, and their deputies. The given costs of the type of houses with "normal, simple furnishings" was 240,000 marks. Apart from this, the Council of Ministers had the right of first refusal to buy houses that became free in and around Berlin. According to the committee's information, some of the estimates of the costs of construction or renovation were exceeded quite considerably—by up to more than 100,000 marks, Kleinert said. "Now and again, we could not manage with the amounts, as was often the case." Such "irregularities" were possible by general and not building-related accounting. Investments to the tune of 1.5 million marks for houses commissioned by Stoph, W. Krolikowski, and Kleiber for their children were presented to the Plan Commission as urgent buildings for "national defense." Kleinert had relied on the fact "that the money was always used properly."

The committee noted that "even during this hearing, those responsible could not make out anybody responsible."

Spokesman Cites Discussion on New Travel Law

LD0401145490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1356 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—[Passage omitted] According to government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer, the Council of Ministers has continued discussion of the reworked travel law draft. It was established that the minister for internal affairs should advocate this draft next week at the People's Chamber meeting. The Council of Ministers would set out a proposal to the People's Chamber on the complex of enterprises with foreign participation in the GDR, which require an alteration to Article 12 of the Constitution. The activity of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate (ABI) was also discussed. The proposal would be made to the Presidium of the People's Chamber to subordinate the committee to the Parliament, and to reshape it into a committee of popular control.

A further item for discussion was the stabilization of the consumer market and the living standard of the population. A decision on temporary measures to prevent speculative use of services and repairs was made.

In response to requests, the Council of Ministers again stated its position on the decision of the social guarantee for the employees of state organs. The government, according to Meyer, supported the position of the trade union. With regard to payments to former employees of the dissolved Office for National Security, the legal standpont would be checked again by the government. It was planned to formulate subsection 1 of Paragraph 121 during the coming reworking of the labor law code in such a way that transitional money for the duration of 1-3 years would be laid down for all future cases of structural change in which working people had to reckon with a temporary reduction in income. The minister for labor and wages will give details to the press in the coming days.

Parliament Takes Control of Workers Committee

LD0401210290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1854 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber Presidium decided, under the chairmanship of Guenter Hartmann in Berlin today, to place the Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate (ABI) under the control of the GDR Parliament with immediate effect, until there is a constitutional and legal arrangement about popular control in the GDR. It will be turned into the "Committee for Popular Control of the GDR" with area (bezirk), district (kreis), city and municipal district committees. [passage omitted]

The members of the Presidium agreed to immediately refer the draft worked out by the ad hoc committee responsible for a new electoral law to the parliamentary groups, the Constitution and Law Committee, and the relevant working group of the roundtable.

The Presidium also discussed the agenda of the upcoming People's Chamber session on 11th and 12th January 1990.

Helsinki Group Gives Briefing on Principles

LD0401230590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2123 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives of the initiative group for the formation of an asssociation to promote and observe the CSCE process gave a briefing in Berlin today on the basic principles and aims of the Helsinki group in the GDR that they are striving for. The initiators see this association as a cross-party organization that is not linked to any denomination, world view, or ideology. It should be open to all citizens of this country and to all foreigners living in the GDR who are loyal to the GDR Constitution and who feel themselves committed to the humanist content of the idea of European human rights, said Harmut Kohlmetz, a co-founder of the group.

Together with other comparable Helsinki groups in other CSCE countries, they intend to contribute to making the

pan-European process tangible to every inhabitant of the Common European Home. The Helsinki group intends to constitute itself on 17 February in Berlin.

New Conservative Party Presents Itself

LD0401175690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1535 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The Free German Union (FDU) has presented itself as a new bourgeois conservative party, which feels itself committed to the basic values of freedom, justice, and unity, during a news conference in Rostock today.

According to Martin Wisser, the 26-year-old party chairman, the FDU was founded on 1 December last year and to date has members mainly in the north of the country. The party is in the tradition of German liberalism and wants to fashion public life with the awareness of basic Christian principles in the service of the German nation.

"The FDU has uncompromisingly decided in favor of a functioning market economic system and intends to erect a free and democratic order on this basis. We see a successful example in the Federal Republic," it says in a statement.

Martin Wisser, a commercial salesman by trade, now a theology student, said that his party supports the state unity of Germany without reservation. However, it must be brought about by an organic growing together that must be embedded in efforts for a united Europe.

New Forum Spokesmen Reject Party Formation

LD0401172690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1556 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National Council of New Forum Spokesmen has spoken out against the founding of a "forum party." A statement handed to ADN today says: "We see in this a rejection of grass-roots democracy and citizens' self-determination, by which New Forum is playing such an important role in breaking down the authoritarian structures in our society."

It is a mistake to think that democracy, above all, needs many parties. In the first instance, it needs self-aware citizens who solve their common problems with tolerance and objectivity. Political parties always yield to the temptation of playing up third-rate questions in order to gain a profile and, at the same time, gloss over the issues for which they have no solutions.

New Forum places issues above political catchphrases. Mere party politics split citizens into hostile blocs, even in the smallest communities. New Forum places its hopes in cooperation on all practical issues of democratization.

The Karl-Marx-Stadt founders of a "Forum Party" are acting out of unimaginative panic of only being able to push through their political interests with a party, the statement by the working committee of the National Council of Spokesmen goes on to say. "The result can only be a splinter party with a weak profile that has no chance of survival against existing parties, but weakens our effective citizens' initiative."

New Forum Newspaper To Begin Publication

LD0401172890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1547 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ANDERE [The Others], a newspaper for New Forum and other grass-roots initiatives, is to appear at the end of January 1990. In a news release the newspaper describes itself as the first truely independent supra-regional GDR weekly newspaper.

The ANDERE will be published with an edition of 100,000 copies a week. Since so far neither technology, sufficient space for the staff, nor money for fees and wages is available, the Basis Druck Verlagsgesellschaft MBH, which is to publish the paper, has appealed for support and money.

A relevant appeal has been signed by Baerbel Bohley, Jens Reich, Reinhard Schult, Christa Wolf, Ina Merkel, Marion and Roland Seelig, Wolfgang Templin, and Ulrike Poppe.

German League for Human Rights Set Up

LD0401172190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1403 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A German League for Human Rights in the GDR was founded today in Berlin. It sees itself linked to the tradition of the German League of Human Rights created in 1922, which in the same year became a member of the International League for Human Rights, and that was banned in 1933 by the Nazis.

The league replaces the GDR Committee for Human Rights that has existed for more than 3 decades. The participants at the meeting, including numerous citizens who are not members of the committee, also set up a working group for the preparation of a statute for the independent non-state organization.

Commission Formed for Free Democratic Party

LD0401135890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1210 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A founding commission for a Free Democratic Party (FDP) was formed at the end of last year in Berlin. A news release conveyed to ADN says that a founding appeal and a provisional program were decided on.

The appeal says that the Free Democratic Party should be a political force of the center. It represents ideology-free modern politics, against totalitarian and dictatorial

leanings, without connection to any kind of "isms." It supports the state unity of the German people in peace and freedom.

The first step toward this objective would be a treaty-based community and intensive cooperation in the political, social, and cultural area at all levels. The administrative structure of the GDR would resemble that of the Federal Republic. The old laender would be restored for this. "We are for a social market economy, obligated to the preservation of the fundamentals of our lives, and against the strengthening of state and other bureaucracies," it says further.

Gysi Discusses Party's Course, Future

AU1812214589 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Dec 89 pp 26-29

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, Socialist Unity Party of Germany chairman, by Wolfram Bickerich, Werner Funk, and Ulrich Schwarz in East Berlin on 13 December: "Autocratic Rule Has Ended"]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Gysi, for 40 years the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] chairman was the most powerful man in the GDR. How powerful are you?

Gysi: Well, let me think. First, the autocratic rule of this party is indeed over. Second, the importance of the government has risen considerably. The position of parliament has also changed essentially. First and foremost, I see my function in reorganizing the party and in holding it together.

DER SPIEGEL: Modest goals for the force that was the determining force of the GDR until recently.

Gysi: We are struggling for every vote, but at the same time we are also struggling for a new party. These are two different tasks that I have to try to solve at the same time: building a new party that wins so much trust with the voter that this new party can exercise its due political influence.

DER SPIEGEL: But you consider your new SED as the follow-up organization of the old SED?

Gysi: Absolutely. We do not want to sneak away from the history of this party, but we want to renew it fundamentally.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you really think that a new man, a new structure, and new people will let the GDR citizens forget 40 years of Stalinist rule?

Gysi: I do not want them to forget this. I also do not have any illusions, but I assume that the people will realize that our party is an important political force in this country and that it is able to renew itself substantially and to become truly democratic.

DER SPIEGEL: All due respect to your optimism, but why should the people think that the SED is still an important power?

Gysi: First of all, positive things have also been achieved over the 40 years of the GDR in which the SED was in power, if you think of questions of social security, the preservation of peace, the education level of the people, and similar things. There are not a few things that our citizens here are attached to.

DER SPIEGEL: What for instance?

Gysi: Take the workers, who are now fearing for their jobs because of the ideas concerning joint ventures. They are afraid that now conditions of competition will develop, which might deprive them of social security.

DER SPIEGEL: Social security can hardly be maintained anyway. All program papers of your party now say that you want to raise economic efficiency. This you can do only via higher productivity, this means via more intensive work and via dismissals.

Gysi: You see, now there comes the importance of my party. It consists, among other things, in the fact that we motivate our members not to prevent high efficiency, but at the same time make the safeguarding of social issues a focal point of their work. With this, we can achieve quite a lot of trust among the working people as a party—when it becomes clear that we really take this seriously.

DER SPIEGEL: The squaring of the circle is comparatively easy....

Gysi: How this is done in detail I cannot say yet because we are, of course, still working on this concept. You see, now I have been party chairman for three days. Of course, you must not overtax me. I am in the process of winning very good people, who have very substantive and very new ideas—ideas, which, I think, are unprecedented in this form.

DER SPIEGEL: Other people said this before you. How many generations of socialists wanted to invent a more friendly, a more humane socialism? Now you come and announce that in time for the elections—that is, in about 5 months —we will have a new theory of socialism, which solves all important problems. This is very courageous.

Gysi: If I were to say this in this way, it would be pure illusion. It is not a question of having a perfect solution by the elections on 6 May. I do not want to be the man who offers perfect solutions, but I want a leftist democratic movement to develop with this party, which others can also join and which considers itself as a movement that is always in the process of developing. It will never again proceed from the premise of having found the eternal truth.

DER SPIEGEL: You enter the election campaign with the promise that you are in the process of developing?

Gysi: You must not compare your elections with ours because all movements in this country are in the process of developing.

DER SPIEGEL: But you need a businesslike statement with specific political demands.

Gysi: Of course. We will do this, but I cannot disclose all of them today. We will prepare for the election campaign. I proceed from the premise that we will hold our regular party congress in time before the elections and that we will give a signal on this party congress. Our political spectrum ranges from social democratic, socialist, communist, to pacifist. These are the traditions from which we want to draw in order to make clear who can have a political home in our party.

DER SPIEGEL: May there also a bit of Christianity?

Gysi: This is included.

DER SPIEGEL: The ecological part is still missing.

Gysi: Of course, this is also included. But we do not yet have any tradition in this. First of all, there are those who do not want the GDR as an independent state....

DER SPIEGEL: At the moment?

Gysi: Yes. I can only talk about the current time; I cannot tell you what will be in 10 years. Second, everything that means ultrarightism, Stalinism, and thus, everything that means inhumanity and intolerance is incompatible with the new SED. These are cornerstones. There are people who doubtlessly do not belong to us, but the range will become considerably broader.

DER SPIEGEL: The new unification with the comrades of the East German social democracy, of the SDP [Social Democratic Party], is already programmed?

Gysi: This depends on how the SDP develops and how we are able to really establish new structures.

DER SPIEGEL: The SED's follow-up organization as a people's party? Then the whole of New Forum could also join the party.

Gysi: I am certainly in favor of other movements; it will take some time until we are able to realize this broad range so that it is really accepted by the people affected.

DER SPIEGEL: You spoke about several talented, knowledgeable people, who are helping you. Are they now sitting together and formulating something like a party program?

Gysi: Yes, but these are preliminary documents that do not claim to be really elaborate, but are an offer for discussion. I hope that we will leave this party congress with program theses, not with a program. The discussion about the program theses must continue until the regular party congress. Then we will decide on a program, with which we will enter the election campaign.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you know how many members your party still has?—Before the change it had 2.3 million members.

Gysi: No, this is very difficult to find out at the moment, because reports do not come in in an orderly way....

DER SPIEGEL: After all, the number of members decreases by the hour.

Gysi: ... Yes—but it also increases. Some people really do join the party.

DER SPIEGEL: But these are very dialectic thoughts.

Gysi: Now I would have to tell you how many less and how many more there are. But I cannot do so. In any case, the number of members is still decreasing.

DER SPIEGEL: We understand your programmatic opening up and probably you do not have any other choice in this situation. But....

Gysi: How nice of you.

DER SPIEGEL: ...It is questionable whether this is enough. The attractiveness of the FRG continues unabated. So far the reason of existence of the GDR was the anti-model, that is, socialism, which should be implemented here on German soil.

Gysi: Yes.

DER SPIEGEL: What you summarize today, on 13 December, as socialism is—apart from ultra-leftists and ultra-rightists—almost everything that exists in the political world. Can one stand one's ground against the FRG with such diffuse goals.?

Gysi: No. They are not quite so vague. I cited the traditions from which we will draw. This does not mean that we want to take over practically everything from these traditions. For instance, about pacifism, I like the attitude of the people. I do not like the renunciation of the right to self-determination. About social democracy, I like the capability for democracy, the capability for tolerance, and the capability for reforms. I do not like the half-heartedness of social democracy, in particular, in revolutions but also in other times.

DER SPIEGEL: And what do you like about communism?

Gysi: About communism, I like the ideal of the classless society. One needs a vision, a big goal, even though one knows that it is far away. This ideal remains my ideal. I can also tell you what I do not like: For instance, I do not like the tendency to announce absolute truths. I do not like the tendency toward administration and the tendency toward marginalizing people, which has always accompanied this movement.

DER SPIEGEL: But these mistakes are inherent to the system.

Gysi: They can be avoided if it is possible to draw the positive things from all four traditions and to make our goal clear.

DER SPIEGEL: This is just wishful thinking. You invent socialism anew and want to make people forget the communism of the past 70 years with its murderous excesses, the personality cult, and the suppression of entire peoples.

Gysi: If you look at the history of the conservative or social-democratic parties in the world, you will see similar breaks.

DER SPIEGEL: We doubt whether you will have time to turn the starting position into something that one can show the voters in 5 months.

Gysi: Forget the voters. They are very important for me, but there are also other important moments. I think that our starting position is correct: The Stalinist system has not made a really essential, beneficial contribution to solving mankind's problems. For me, the capitalist system, too, has proved to be able to solve the global problems of mankind only to a very limited extent; that is why, despite all efforts for social issues, in the end the monetary interests are the decisive ones.

DER SPIEGEL: In your speech on the opening of the party congress on 8 December, the passage on the so-called achievements of the FRG was surprisingly positive. A few catchwords: "free forms of economic, political, and cultural competition ... the practice of co-determination ... the role of the public ... the state of the development of science."

Gysi: There, you see that I am honest, do you not?

DER SPIEGEL: Startlingly honest. On the other hand, you cited as disadvantages of this society only the "interests of power of capitalist monopolies and the transnational consolidated companies." Obviously, you consider the essential parts of our market economy system correct, and with a decent anti-trust law you prevent the development of consolidated companies.

Gysi: The worst thing is that these consolidated companies exert the decisive influence.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you really think so?

Gysi: For instance, armament is carried out in line with the interests of the arms industry and not in line with the interests of the peace movement. Money is earned at the cost of the Third World in line with the interests of the consolidated companies and not in line with the interests of the Third World. These global strategies of the West do not work at all.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Gysi, who has exploited the Third World in the same way as the Western industrial countries?

Gysi: We did not even have the time, not to speak of the economic possibilities, for this.

DER SPIEGEL: Who has had the highest armament expenditures over the past 20 years compared with the gross national product?

Gysi: But you only confirm what I said: That both systems proved to be incapable of really making these global interests gain round. This supports my thesis that we need a third path. We want to follow a leftist, democratic, socialist path, this means, a path that links economic efficiency and ecology with the social interests of the people.

DER SPIEGEL: Why do you not just follow a leftist, democratic path and leave out the term "socialist," which has been discredited in the GDR?

Gysi: Because the term "socialism" expresses something very specific.

DER SPIEGEL: That is?

Gysi: That social interests are the focus. This is not expressed by the term "democratic" alone—democratically, one can still starve with equal rights.

DER SPIEGEL: Why not "social democratic"?

Gysi: Because "socialist" also has something to do with ownership structures. I proceed on the assumption that the most important key industries must continue to be owned by the state by all means; this includes raw materials, steel, shipbuilding, and so on; that is, the sectors that are subsidized in your country. In other sectors, competitive conditions have to be created, and the international market has to be taken into account. One of our fundamental errors was to believe that an isolated market can be developed.

DER SPIEGEL: Have we correctly understood that you want to permit private ownership of the means of production of non-key industries because these industries are more likely to be forced to hold their ground on the market?

Gysi: This varies. We also have private industries. Private ownership of the means of production will be continued and certainly be developed in the subcontracting industries. Then there will be shareholdings, enterprises that are both state-owned and privately owned. If this is done properly, one can, so to say, try to combine producers' and monetary interests, and thus competitive interests, within an economic unit. If this succeeds, the producers will have a double motivation.

DER SPIEGEL: That is, plainly spoken: staff shares, shareholdings of the employees.

Gysi: There is the question of whether it will be possible to properly define the relations so that this will result in a double motivation and not in a double negation of the motivation.

DER SPIEGEL: It is decisive for the GDR and its open-border existence that the still-leading party of the

country soon convey the impression to the inhabitants that the economy will be speedily reorganized. Your draft program gives rise to doubts about its feasibility.

Gysi: Please, do not forget that these are programmatic theses developed by scientists of the Humboldt University—this is not yet a party program. In my opinion, at present the task of the party is not a concrete economic policy; this is the task of the government. It is the task of the party to formulate objectives and measures to achieve these objectives. We have to give up the former claim that decisions on the economic policy are made in the headquarters of the party.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you have an idea of how to meet the enormous demand for capital needed for the reorganization of the GDR economy?

Gysi: The government has certainly ideas of its own about this. I also have mine, but I will not disclose them to you because I might obstruct them in this way. We are not the government, we are the party. Of course, we trust the government because it is also our government; however, we do not make governmental policy, but party policy.

DER SPIEGEL: Can you envision the GDR's stabilization without the FRG's help?

Gysi: I can hardly envision it without help. I am also in favor of help from the FRG. I completely reject that it makes this subject to unacceptable conditions because, in the end, the FRG will also be harmed by the restriction of the GDR's sovereignty.

DER SPIEGEL: What is unacceptable?

Gysi: Restricting sovereignty.

DER SPIEGEL: Chancellor Kohl does not want to meet you during his visit to Dresden. Does the SED chairman now regard himself as the fifth wheel?

Gysi: I cannot describe to you what I feel in this function...

DER SPIEGEL: But we would like to hear it.

Gysi: ...Because it is so new. In contrast to other SED general secretaries, I do not hold a public office. I am the chairman of the—as I believe—still most-important party of the country. This should be taken into account, including by foreign politicians; however, this does not change the fact that I only consider myself as the chairman of the party.

DER SPIEGEL: Your Premier Modrow talks of a "contractual community" between the two German states. Do you accept this term?

Gysi: Yes.

DER SPIEGEL: And what do you understand by this?

Gysi: I understand that we will achieve a maximum degree of cooperation in the fields of the economy, politics, culture, science, legal assistance—in short, in various fields, that is, really to the benefit of the Germans in the two German states, not to the disadvantage of third parties, and without giving up one's sovereignty.

DER SPIEGEL: Does the same answer also apply to "confederative structures" between the two German states?

Gysi: In this case, I will ask what is meant by this. I am very careful with this concept. We should maybe wait and see what structures this contractual community will produce and not burden the contractual community from the very beginning with concepts that startle others and do not help anybody. The whole process must be a European one, not a special German course.

DER SPIEGEL: What is the maximum that the Soviet Union can tolerate?

Gysi: You have to ask the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union attaches utmost importance to the continued existence of the GDR and of my party.

DER SPIEGEL: Did Gorbachev tell you this during your telephone conversation with him after your election?

Gysi: We took the same view on this.

DER SPIEGEL: Are you afraid that the GDR will be swallowed by the FRG?

Gysi: I do not think so. I also believe that we will be able to prevent this; however, there is a certain degree of concern.

DER SPIEGEL: We have the impression that the majority of the GDR citizens who are now demonstrating in the streets, above all in Leipzig, are in favor of reunification. How do you assess the mood of your compatriots?

Gysi: Your impression is correct, but this is not the majority of the population, only the majority of the demonstrators. Many millions of people do not demonstrate.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you believe that the majority of the people are interested in the continued existence of the GDR?

Gysi: Yes.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you feel an increasing trend to the right?

Gysi: There are tendencies in this direction.

DER SPIEGEL: Are you afraid of this?

Gysi: Yes. This also frightens the citizens. Contrary to our development toward democracy, the use of state

authority would be required some day. It will be a pity if this happens at a time when we want to develop democracy.

DER SPIEGEL: Can you envision a party of the right to run in the elections on 6 May?

Gysi: If it were a neo-Nazi party, it would not be admitted.

DER SPIEGEL: Where does your party want to be on 7 May 1990?

Gysi: With a strong group in the next People's Chamber.

DER SPIEGEL: How strong?

Gysi: As strong as possible.

DER SPIEGEL: Will you still be the chairman?

Gysi: I do not know. There will be a new election at the regular party congress.

DER SPIEGEL: But you can envision that you will also lead the SED into the opposition?

Gysi: Yes.

DER SPIEGEL: With pleasure?

Gysi: No, of course not. I proceed on the assumption that many parties will be elected and that the party that I represent will be available as a coalition partner.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Gysi, thank you for this interview.

Minister Luft Considers Economic Reforms

AU1412183389 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 14 Dec 89 p 14

[Interview with Christa Luft, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers for economy, by Christian Hoppe and Peter Morner in East Berlin; date not given—"We Will Protect Private Property"]

[Text] DIE WELT: In a few hours you will meet with FRG Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann. Are you looking forward to this?

Luft: I am glad that he offered to conduct these talks. I am glad that it was possible to arrange this meeting in an uncomplicated way. I am optimistic.

DIE WELT: What will you discuss with your FRG colleague?

Luft: Our conversation will consist of two parts. It will be an informative talk on our government's projects in the field of economic reform, and this will be succeeded by a discussion on bilateral relations.

DIE WELT: Madame premier, as the responsible minister, what do you consider the most important challenges that have to be met within the framework of the earlier mentioned economic reform?

Luft: We have drawn up a whole range of focuses. Yet first of all I would like to say that the economic reform—everybody is currently talking about it—remains a means to an end. It is not the end itself. Our objective must be to shape our home for the people of our country in a way that the people gladly stay here, and that they feel associated with this country, that they can pursue their interests here, and that they can satisfy their needs in accordance with their performance. Everything that we want with our reform is aimed at this objective. When you ask me about the focal points and the priorities of this reform, then I must say that—in line with the mentioned objective—apart from social ownership, which will continue to dominate, we will primarily promote a number of diverse forms of ownership.

DIE WELT: What does that mean?

Luft: We will promote cooperative ownership, particularly in the industrial sector. We will promote semi-state ownership. There is a regulation from the early fifties concerning enterprises that are partly state-owned. It is still valid today; one must only apply it, and it ought to be applied even right now. Moreover, we also want to develop private ownership. For example, the currently still-valid legal regulations concerning private industries contain a limit of 10 employees. We will change this. We have also determined to revise the tax laws for trade and private industry with the objective of increasing the net incomes of the people in this sector, and to avoid having initiatives obstructed by exaggerated tax rates. We will create possibilities that permit the influx of foreign capital. This means that in the future there will be an entire range of forms of ownership in the GDR, side by side and with equal rights

DIE WELT: Will you permit private ownership only at the lowest level or will you even privatize VEB combines?

Luft: Social ownership will continue to play a dominating role. To put things clearly, we will strengthen those large combines that are efficient even on international markets. On the other hand, we will begin to disentangle a number of bezirk [area]-administered combines in the next few months. This involves giving them different forms of ownership in accordance with the legal regulations that still have to be adopted by the People's Chamber.

DIE WELT: Mrs Luft, just before, you said: first of all. Now what is it that comes second?

Luft: Second: We will reorganize the state-owned combines from the point of view of how we can increase efficiency and flexibility by changing the forms of organization. Third: We want to radically change the planning system that developed in the GDR during the past few decades. Well, maybe to change is not the right word, actually we want to establish a new basic pattern for our economy. If you want to know what type of economy we would like to have, then I would define it as a social

market economy that is based on long-term future-oriented planning, in other words on forecasts, on strategies, on basic decisions concerning major projects in this society; on framework conditions, which the central authority must set for the work of the enterprises. This means market economy based on long-term future-oriented planning, which is aimed at the people's real needs—both their social and ecological needs. We want a market economy that—if you like—is absolutely based on the principle of supply and demand.

DIE WELT: In the FRG our experience has been that wherever there was state interference, wherever it was thought that through state interference one would accomplish more, most of the time the problems were not solved in a better way. In the FRG the business sector says that it wants reliable framework conditions in which it is able to act according to economic principles, to our needs, requirements, and objectives. Do you share this view?

Luft: Well, as far as the role of the state is concerned, there is not a single model in the world—not even in the Western world. There is the Japanese model, which, I would say, comes very close to our ideas. There is a British model and a French model. To me, the models in the Western world are far from being all the same. Yet as far as we are concerned, I would like to emphasize once more that we no longer want the bureaucratic economy that is based on instructions. Each civilized industrial society needs planning, yet planning in the sense I mentioned at the beginning: What matters is long-term future-oriented planning from a central viewpoint, for example, it is important to have an energy concept. No combine, no enterprise can do this—and even less so a cooperative. To draw up an energy concept for a society is only possible on the basis of the entire state. This applies to an environmental concept, or to any structural concept. The national economy, which is part of the international division of labor, needs central guidelines and framework conditions that make it possible for the many and diverse combines and enterprises to be organized in a way that allows the implementation of such an overall concept.

DIE WELT: Let us now talk about more specific topics that you will discuss with Minister Haussmann.

Luft: I know that the FRG has very high liquidity. This liquidity is searching for investment opportunities. The way I see it, there is a greater readiness to search for investment possibilities if it is possible to acquire property. We, the Council of Ministers, have now appealed to the People's Chamber to create a legal regulation that entitles the Council of Ministers to adopt a basic resolution, even under the current Constitution, that makes it possible to establish and operate joint ventures as quickly as possible. Actually, I expect that all these legal regulations will be adopted by the People's Chamber even within the first 3 months of 1990, so that we can guarantee that Western investors' capital will be protected on our territory in the same way as in other countries within the framework of agreements on the protection of investments, including the transfer of profits. Second: We are interested in discussing with Mr Haussmann how one can achieve improvements for both sides in the sphere of infrastructure, such as in the transport and communications sector. I wonder to what extent the FRG Government will commit itself in this respect.

DIE WELT: Will it be possible for FRG enterprises to hold majorities in the planned joint ventures?

Luft: According to our plans, participation will be limited to 49 percent. After all, we are only beginners in this field and do not have any experience, and thus we will begin with 49 percent. At this point, I cannot say what will happen in a few years from now. Yet what I can say now is that we have a great number of offers, and there are many partners who want to establish such joint ventures with us because there is, as I said, a lot of liquid money; therefore, I am not afraid that there might not be enough interested parties—even if we maintain the 49-percent limit.

DIE WELT: You have mentioned liquid means in the FRG that are fervently looking for investment opportunities. However, the circulation of money only works if the money really circulates. The problem in this respect is the currently weak GDR mark.

Luft: We could conclude joint ventures on the basis of FRG Deutsche marks. Second: We will have to tackle the issue of convertibility of our currency faster than we originally planned. Yet, first of all, we must tackle the problem of the absolutely blurred cost structures in our enterprises. In other words, on the basis of performance we must become internationally competitive —with your help, if you want.

DIE WELT: Mrs Luft, is it possible that the FRG Deutsche mark might increasingly become the second currency here in the GDR, and that the currency problem would thus be solved in a completely different way—let us say: through the back door?

Luft: Even this possibility is being discussed here among scientists and practitioners. We have not yet arrived at a final opinion in this respect because there is a whole range of other possibilities and thought models. We have started to study all these alternatives. The possibility that you mention is included in our series of theoretical models. One of the crucial problems that we are facing is the excessive supply of money in our country. There is the possibility to change this situation by a radical cut in the currency, that is to say, by devaluation. I have to admit that I cannot bring myself to take this step, because it would mean an enormous loss of confidence on the part of the population. In addition, it would also mean a great loss of international confidence. I prefer the following solution: To create the possibility that every single person can invest these individual savings. This may involve encouraging people to save for travel, the purchase of apartments, and even the purchase of small

pieces of land, as well as the acquisition of shares or profit-sharing stocks of the state-owned enterprises. However, as long as we have this excessive supply of money we cannot let prices develop freely because, considering our current—unbalanced—supply and demand situation, this might easily lead to high inflation rates. This would be an enormous danger.

DIE WELT: Madame premier, might it be helpful for you if, in the course of your talks with Mr Haussmann, you were also to discuss the issue of how you can acquire know-how at the administration and ministry level—and not just the individual enterprise or combine level?

Luft: I am one of those people who learn from everybody if there is something to learn. I can imagine that this mixed economic commission will also discuss such topics as you just mentioned. I would even welcome it if it could happen at such a level, because for the time being we are being flooded with hundreds and thousands of offers. McKinsey and many others would like to be our consultants.

DIE WELT: Have you ever been to the FRG?

Luft: Yes, I have.

DIE WELT: What do you think of our economic system?

Luft: I think that a number of objectives, which we consider socialist objectives, have been nicely tackled in your country through a committed trade union movement and energetic employees. Compared to other West European countries, there is a well-developed social network in your country. Prices are stable and there is a low rate of inflation—this is all very impressive. We have watched all this very closely. What I cannot easily imagine for us is a system in which all the people mainly use their elbows, that is to say, a system in which everything is based on exaggerated egoism—egoism not as far as the individual people are concerned, but egoism as the driving force of the entire system.

DIE WELT: Madame Premier, have you already conducted talks with FRG enterprises?

Luft: The last opportunity I had to meet eminent colleagues was at the Draeger Symposium in Malente in mid-October. I participated in a working group and sat next to Mr Otto Wolff von Amerongen. On that occasion I also met Mr Tyll Necker and Mr Hans Peter Stihl of the German Trade and Industry Association, DIHT.

DIE WELT: Is it possible that all your dreams might be spoiled by a hard winter in the USSR? Would there be a danger, even in the GDR, that the entire process will be stopped?

Luft: Well, you know, winter can be very hard in the USSR. I lived a few years in that country. I have firsthand experience and thus I know what consequences this winter may have, in case it is a severe one. It could be possible that the reins will have to be drawn very tightly. However, I cannot imagine that even after a possible delay, there will ever be a return to a system that could be described as a Stalinist system. I consider this impossible, because, through communication and personal visits to other countries, the world has grown closer together. The Soviet citizens now have much greater possibilities. Travel restrictions have been eased, and everybody who is able to see something in another place returns home a different person, compared to those who live isolated. This "eureka" experience cannot be stopped, even inside the country. A severe winter might, of course, put this country and its government to a very hard test, and one might have to resort to centralist methods. Yet I think that this would not happen for a certain time. I cannot imagine that anything could be reversed in the USSR. Moreover, what has happened here in the GDR through the opening of the border is definitive. It is irreversible. I would only wish that the other side would act more reasonably regarding the question of reunification. Recently, I had an opportunity to talk to representatives of the U.S. Congress. Those people who came here together with Baker's delegation made it very clear that they are highly interested in the continued existence of a second German state. Government heads of other countries have made similar statements. What I would wish is that people would act very carefully in this respect, because we need peace in order to initiate reasonable things in a reasonable way.

DIE WELT: Madame premier, are the directors of the combines now jumping onto the bandwagon, while actually remaining what they are—bureaucrats of the planned economy?

Luft: I think it would have been complicated if we had only appointed new heads to all combines and enterprises, following what we call our radical changes. Continuity is necessary. It is easier to replace the head of a cinema, the director of a theater, or even the chief of a newspaper, than to replace leading figures in the production sector. Goods must be produced and shipped every day. We must feed and clothe 16 million people—every day. We have to fulfill international obligations. Production must not be stopped. Radical cuts would have a negative effect.

DIE WELT: If the work force in a combine would like to chase away its chief, or if they would like to do something else—will they be given the right to strike?

Luft: We are discussing all these matters. Strikes are certainly the very last alternative. I have a great wish, a great request to all those who at this very moment are dissatisfied with certain conditions in certain spheres, and that is not to resort to this ultimate alternative. We must settle the problems through consensus with the working people, and every single hour of lost production is a disadvantage for us. The chimneys must continue to smoke, despite the open borders.

DIE WELT: In your country the chimneys are actually emitting too much smoke.

Luft: Well, this is true. When I say smoke I am not referring to our enormous environmental problems—you are right. (laughs)

DIE WELT: So what is now to become of good old Karl Marx and his dictatorship of the proletariat?

Luft: Oh well, this is a term that I stopped using quite some time ago, years ago. When I was still in a responsible position at the university of economics I told my students to store such "revolutionary" terms at the very back of their minds. Today, proletariat no longer means the blacksmith and hammer. Today, the workers' class includes many diverse and colorful people; those who sit at computers are also workers. They are members of the workers class.

DIE WELT: What do your two adult sons make of the new situation in the GDR and of the fact that you became a minister?

Luft: Well, it is always like this with children, irrespective of the system. They said: We wish you luck in this job, and we do not envy you. Then they added: You should not have accepted this post.

DIE WELT: Have your children ever been to the FRG?

Luft: They have been to West Berlin several times since the border was opened; apart from that we took them to many other countries, but they have never been to the West by themselves. I would like to say a few more things about Marx. I have no reason to draw back from him, because he was also the one who emphasized the role of the law on values in the economy. In this context, I want to stress—and I have done so in the past—that it makes little sense to apply individual quotations or even entire chapters of Marx's writings to our time. We must adopt his way of thinking and his methods, but we must shape them so that they can be applied to our present situation.

DIE WELT: Does Marx's religion not belong on the heap of history?

Luft: Concerning religious elements, I have always said that we must get away from applying ideologies in all spheres. We need more pragmatism, pragmatism that leads to high efficiency. Only great efficiency can be the good and stable grounds on which social values can thrive. It is, of course, difficult to talk about social values for which one does not have real guarantees.

DIE WELT: In the face of these and other facts, in the face of the total failure of real socialism, will it be possible to win the people's confidence for your party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and for the government? In other words, do you not think that, following the free elections of 7 May 1990 at the latest, you will be removed from office by the events in the GDR?

Luft: First of all, I have a job to which I would gladly return. Second: If one assumes an office, one must not act according to the motto: On 7 May I will no longer be in office anyway, and thus I do not need to overstrain myself—apres moi le deluge. This is not my style. Third: The SED will accept any result of free, general, and secret elections. This government works for this country, and not for the party.

State Council Chairman Discusses New Job

AU1512111889 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 9-10 Dec 89p 3

[Report on interview with Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the GDR State Council, by Lothar Heinke and Thomas Boerold; date and place not given: "In the Limelight"]

[Text] An awkward situation: Just now a man whom we respect both as a man and a politician (and who has lined up for lunch in our canteen just like all others, as long as we have been working for this paper) has been entrusted with the highest state office and 10 minutes later, after the storm of flashlights belonging to the international press, we are sitting opposite each other to talk about privileges, affairs, and corruption. Professor Gerlach leaves no doubts that he arrives at this vacant post, which one day will probably be identical with that of the president of the republic, through discipline, a sense of responsibility, and an understanding of the need to say yes. He refuses to accept congratulations; this is a necessary interregnum, owing to the muddled situation. Our interview, agreed upon earlier, is for quite different reasons: On the one hand, our party chairman is well liked, and not just by those from the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], because earlier than others he said what the people think, but on the other hand the number of those who express suspicions is increasing. He is also one of those, who took part in things for many years. What about facts and figures now? We wanted to know more details.

DER MORGEN: You have just been elected chairman of the State Council, but you do not seem to be too enthusiastic about that.

M. Gerlach: No. I really am not happy because I am and have to be a "substitute," but I also want to be one, because I feel responsible to the people and to my oath before the People's Chamber after Egon Krenz submitted his resignation, which I think was a correct and necessary decision.

DER MORGEN: Actually, there was no one else...

M. Gerlach: There are practically only two deputy chairmen of the State Council now: Professor Muehlmann, who was elected only recently, and me. But the work of this organ of the People's Chamber must go on, if only for the sake of the international commitments of our state. And thus I accepted this task out of a sense of duty and for a short time, for I hope very much that the People's Chamber will soon elect a new chairman of the State Council.

DER MORGEN: You want to retain your office only until January. But who is going to succeed you then? The faction of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] still has the right to submit a proposal. As long as there have been no new elections, any personnel decision will have a transitional nature.

M. Gerlach: The SED would be well advised not to propose a member of its party but another prominent figure who would be approved by both the People's Chamber and the people.

DER MORGEN: How can you know about the people's approval in such a decision? Perhaps though a referendum?

M. GERLACH: One could also consider this possibility. It is a fact that the present composition of the People's Chamber is not in line with the will of the poeple. I can imagine that then we will no longer elect a chairman of the State Council.

DER MORGEN: Whom then? A president of the republic?

M. Gerlach: Yes, but he should be determined by the people through direct elections.

DER MORGEN: In connection with the resignation of three party chairmen, an increasing number of readers write us: How are things with you, Prof Gerlach? Should one who participated in the GDR's political life for 40 years not draw similar consequences?

M. Gerlach: The other party chairmen resigned because they did not have the trust of their party anymore or because they are under suspicion of having committed criminal offences.

DER MORGEN: And none of that applies to you?

M. Gerlach: No. Neither one, nor the other. At the seventh meeting of the central executive committee, a convincing majority—130 out of 131 votes—expressed confidence in me by secret ballot. And I am proud of that. There are no violations of the law, and, therefore, no investigations. But there are a number of suspicions, simply because of the fact that others incurred a penalty. Thus, logic dictates that in my case there must also be something, according to the maxim: It cannot be true that Gerlach is not involved in anything.

DER MORGEN: What kind of suspicions are these?

M. Gerlach: At various events—some of them quite big events—in Leipzig, Halle, and other places it was maintained that Gerlach owns four plots of land in the GDR...

DER MORGEN: And do you?

M. Gerlach: Just a moment, this is not all. In addition, I have a luxury villa beside the Hiddensee and a bank account in Switzerland.

DER MORGEN: You have to admit that, in view of the many topical disclosures, the previous and present political leaders are considered to be capable of nearly anything.

M. Gerlach: Unfortunately, that is true. This distrust is fully justified. But I reject accusations that are obviously sheer invention. I do not own any property. For 27 years I have rented a single-family house in Berlin-Spindlersfeld. Beside Lake Koeriser I have use of a bungalow that is owned by VOB Aufwaerts (an assocation of enterprises of the LDPD—the authors). And I pay rent for that, too.

DER MORGEN: Do you have any employees in your home?

M. Gerlach: Yes, twice a week we have household help for five hours at a time. My wife works as a physiotherapist at "Rewatex." And in our limited leisure time the house and garden would be too much for us.

DER MORGEN: It is said in Wandlitz that the employees were paid from the national budget to a certain extent.....

M. Gerlach: We have always paid for that ourselves. It would never have occurred to me to do otherwise. I have a savings account in the GDR with GDR marks. And, as I have always had a good salary, it is quite well-stocked. But I have no other accounts, not in other countries and not in other currencies.

DER MORGEN: Former chairmen of other parties are reproached for misappropriating foreign currency. Where did the so-called bloc parties get the freely convertible currency?

M. Gerlach: The cases now being discussed in public indicate that for quite a number of years the chairmen of other parties let foreign currency from the Ministry for Finances flow into their parties via their personnel accounts. And the suspicion is that part of these sums was used for private purposes. I have never received foreign currency from the Ministry for Finances for the LDPD in this way. Even if I had wanted this, any misappropriation would have been impossible. The LDPD could only claim financial means from the national budget for its international work. This sum, which was by no means great, was determined anew every year and was made available for specific purposes at the request of the responsible department. The money was in GDR marks, rubles, and foreign currencies. Cash has never passed through my hands. Everything is done through accounts, to some of which I do not have access or which I am only authorized to sign together with the director general of VOB Aufwaerts. Never alone.

DER MORGEN: A Prof Schmidt from Berlin wants you once again to tell the people of our country what privileges you enjoyed.

M. Gerlach: There are certainly many disputes about the term privileges. If somebody gets a high salary because of

his performance—no matter in what field—or if somebody like myself has the possibility to spend his vacation in the guest houses of the government, for instance on Vilm Island, and if he pays for that, and by the way quite a lot, then I would not call that a privilege. If, however, somebody keeps a whole national hunting area to himself and even a comfortably equipped hunting lodge with the state's money, he is not only using an unjustified privilege, he is guilty of an abuse of power, which amounts to criminal action.

DER MORGEN: Did you actually know of these luxury villas?

M. Gerlach: I knew of a few, but not many. I have not been to one of these houses, not even to Hubertusstock Castle. I did not participate in parties there, I do not hunt, I cannot shoot and I do not have a weapon either, except for an air rifle that I was given as a present once. In this connection, I can also answer another question: I have never had any personal protection; I go around like any other citizen in public and in my leisure time.

DER MORGEN: And what about the notorious Wandlitz complex?

M. Gerlach: I was there three times in my entire life; the last time on the occasion of Willi Stoph's 75th birthday. After half an hour I left to participate in the celebration of the 100th birthday of Wilhelmine Schirmer-Proescher. The other visits were 15 or even more years ago, these occasions were to congratulate Otto Grotewohl and Hermann Matern.

DER MORGEN: But if you have known politicians, who are incriminated today, for such a long time, do you not have any idea about the lifestyle of these people, do you not talk about private things occasionally?

M. Gerlach: Private life was taboo; it was never discussed, on principle. It was my wife who told me that the wives of Politburo members had told her that in Wandlitz they can shop for a complete range of imported goods at very normal prices. I did not want to believe that, but took note of it. Or, for instance, I knew that Erich Honecker had a house at his disposal on Vilm Island that was never used in the past 2 years. Two years ago, the manager there told me that a satellite television system had been installed at a cost of $3 million, making it possible to receive 13 channels. Guenter Mittag allegedly made this decision; but Erich Honecker, for whom this was all intended, no longer came, but stayed in the newly adapted former hunting lodge of Gerhard Grueneberg. Now one can see the pictures of this estate. These expenditures and this comfort cannot be justified by anything.

DER MORGEN: What did you feel?

M. Gerlach: Anger, indignation.

DER MORGEN: In this connection, the question arises: Well, at some point of time you were disillusioned with these people who called themselves "outstanding representatives of the working people." Could you not just walk up and say: This is not the right way, gentlemen! Was that not possible?

M. Gerlach: That would have been possible, and from today's viewpoint I have to admit it would have been necessary, no matter what the consequences would have been. In many issues I should have acted in a completely different way, and much earlier and even more strongly than I did. At that time I tried to oppose these developments in certain sectors and tried to talk with the responsible ministers when I hear of such things. I also had direct talks with certain persons and for about 10 years I have made statements in letters, speeches, and articles on certain issues, or have tried to change the policy in the meetings of the State Council. And even though these efforts were quite pronounced, especially during the last months, before the beginning of the policy of renewal, they obviously were not enough. If our party and I as its chairman, and also my state function—and also many others!—had acted much more energetically and much earlier, then we would have been able to start a new policy and call to account those who are guilty much earlier. I have to accept that, and of course this is quite a personal burden for me to bear.

DER MORGEN: Was the power of those in actual power too strong?

M. Gerlach: Yes. The individual had only limited possibilities to act. Otherwise, and there are numerous examples of this, he would have lost his job and would have had to expect other reprisals, going as far as the court.

DER MORGEN: By the way, concerning power. In a letter, Gerd Hess from Strasberg asks: Do you have any lust for power?

M. Gerlach: I have never had any lust for power. At the beginning of my political work, I was ambitious on a reasonable level and then I tried to fulfill my duties. I had the impression that my party friends and the voters from my constituency in Karl-Marx-Stadt approved of my actions, and that did me good. However, years of routine, too far removed from the people, can result in ever increasing power.

DER MORGEN: What can we, what can and must society do against this?

M. Gerlach: We must have safeguards that from the very beginning preclude such a concentration of power, such unbridled satisfaction of the hunger for power.

DER MORGEN: And what kind of safeguards would these be?

M. Gerlach: A limitation of the legislative periods. And: No politician, no party, no organization must work without any democratic control in the future, there must be no office, person, or sector that is not subjected to democratic control. It is important that the media continue their work in this way. We need a public in which

any citizen has the right to ask questions and demand answers, no matter from whom. Anyone in an official function must be in the limelight, so that the public can always keep a close eye on him.

DER MORGEN: This of course means completely altering the electoral system....

M. Gerlach: Precisely, this is the main point; there must be a guarantee for true, free, secret elections, but I want to stress that time-tested achievements—a deputy's work is certainly not only foolishness—that should be preserved and vitalized, for instance, this multiple control over candidates, the public supervision of their work, the fact that they can be recalled, and so on. But there must be a real selection of parties and candidates.

DER MORGEN: What are the conclusions you draw for your work from the experiences of the last decades and the crisis now being revealed?

M. Gerlach: I resolutely call for limiting the legislative periods for party leaders and also for elected politicians in the state. In my view, two, at most three legislative periods are enough. And as I have fulfilled this, it is clear to me that at new elections, be it in the state or in the party, I will not be available for the present functions.

DER MORGEN: We thank you for the interview.

Newspaper Notes Club for Homosexuals

AU0401174390

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German on 2 January on page 3, under the headline "I am a Homosexual, and What Now?," carries a 3,000-word report on homosexuals in the GDR, noting that only since the mid-1970's have homosexuals in the GDR been advocating their interests. The report discusses the so-called "Sunday Club," which is a Berlin "association of lesbian, gay, and bisexual citizens" established in 1986. The club does not yet have its own rooms and "depends on being the guest of other institutions." "The Sunday Club considers itself as a meeting place for all who are confronted with homosexuality. On the one hand, those are lesbian, gay, and bisexual citizens, on the other hand, they are parents, relatives, colleagues, and friends." The report describes some activities of the club and some of its demands to improve life for homosexuals.

Gerlach, Maleuda Greet CSSR's Havel, Dubcek

AU0401093990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30-31 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The acting chairman of the GDR State Council, Manfred Gerlach, conveyed a greetings telegram to Vaclav Havel on the occasion of his election as CSSR president.

At the same time, the president of the People's Chamber, Guenther Maleuda, conveyed his greetings to Alexander Dubcek on the occasion of his election as chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. At the invitation of Manfred Gerlach, Vaclav Havel will visit the GDR on 2 January 1990.

Press Views Havel Visit to Berlin, Munich

AU0301150790 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0605 GMT 3 Jan 90

[From the press review]

[Text] KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU says: A lightning career from state enemy to state president is certainly not a normal and everyday matter. It is also not usual for a just-elected head of state to make working visits to neighboring countries just a few days after his election. Writer and playwright Vaclav Havel, who was urged into the role of a politician somewhat against his will and who sees himself more as president for a brief transitional period until elections, made it clear that he is willing to accept political responsibility for this period and is not in any way thinking about just twiddling his thumbs or just waiting for the further course of events. This man, whose only "weapon" is his moral integrity, seems to be determined to push ahead as quickly as possible the process of democratic reforms, not only in the CSSR." This was KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU.

In FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE we read: Premier Modrow, the deputy chairman of the Socialist Unity Party, did not have an easy time with this guest, who is completely unafraid of a peaceful and democratic neighbor—with 60 or 80 million inhabitants. He tried to quickly pin him down to further meetings with him alone and to interpret Havel's two-part visit as paying tribute to the existence of two German states. But the guest said only one word in East Berlin, which could be interpreted in such a way: Distaste for "wild" reunification of the two states, which, instead, has to take place within an all-European process on the basis of negotiations. In Prague, in the heart of Europe, Vaclav Havel has the appropriate distance and sufficient experience to see German matters correctly, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE says.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG stresses: For more than 40 years no CSSR head of state dared not make his first visit following election to Moscow. Not only does the emancipation from Big Brother, the turning away from the longstanding automatic, natural links with the Soviet Union become clear, but also, above all, the remembrance of the former importance of the CSSR as the center of Europe, as a turntable between East and West. Now Prague wants to regain this old importance. Thus, when Havel takes up Kennedy's phrase at the Brandenburg Gate and says that he, too, is a Berliner, his picture is perhaps more correct than it was for the American then: As Berlin was a symbol of the cold war, his country was a symbol for a system that was forced upon it; both Berlin and Prague are located at the junctions of the Western world.

After SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, we now have the view of MUENCHNER MERKUR: Of course Havel wants to participate in designing a pretty apartment for his CSSR in the future European building. Naturally, the flourishing economic power FRG can contribute more to this than the bankrupt GDR. Not only Modrow envies it this power. The lips of Mrs Thatcher and Mitterrand are getting increasingly thinner when they talk about the friends in the FRG, even though there is certainly no one who can accuse the FRG of bragging, MUENCHNER MERKUR stresses.

WESTFAELISCHE RUNDSCHAU, which is published in Dortmund, explains: In addition to economic cooperation, Havel expects from the West German, who recently honored him with an important peace prize, to support the CSSR in Europe. Even though his country has the smallest difficulties within Eastern Europe, they are big enough to necessitate help. From the East Germans he must hope to get—as they hope to get from him—support for his reform policy. Because only then will the peaceful revolution be girded against still-possible future attacks, only then, if it is internationally intertwined, will it become irreversible. This was a quote from WESTFAELISCHE RUNDSCHAU.

NUERNBERGER NACHRICHTEN discusses another aspect of Havel's visit to the FRG: It is understandable that he wanted to go to Munich and not to Bonn. Fifty-one years after the shameful agreement on the Sudeten region, which did not secure peace—as Chamberlain hoped at the time—but was a step on the path toward war, representatives of democratic Germany and of the CSSR, which has just disposed of the Stalinist dictatorship, met in the Bavarian capital city. People with equal rights met there, who feel pledged to a constitutional state and who detest the arbitrariness of totalitarian regimes, regardless of where they come from. These are signs that give rise to hope, NUERNBERGER NACHRICHTEN noted.

WIESBADENER TAGBLATT summarizes: Havel made a very good impression in East Berlin and Munich yesterday. His astonishment about the continued existence of the Berlin Wall also contributed to this impression. He will have been pleased to hear that the relic of the cold war is to disappear soon from German soil. In Europe the time of closed borders is finally over. People like Vaclav Havel blew them up, WIESBADENER TAGBLATT says.

Modrow Meets With FRG Legislator

LD0301150290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow today held a discussion in his office with Professor Kurt Biedenkopf (Christian Democratic Union), member of the FRG Bundestag, on questions arising in particular from the democratic reshaping of the GDR and, in this connection, on the treaty-based community to be developed between the GDR and the FRG. The prime minister stressed the responsibility of the German states for the political stability of Europe.

Both politicians expressed the view that the treaty-based community will open a broad field of new possibilities. They agreed that, through this cooperation, the GDR economy must swiftly be put in a position to play an effective and full part in the international division of labor. This requires swift and tangible aid from the FRG, which is justified on the basis of a series of postwar development factors and is, moreover, fully in the interests of the FRG.

Prof Biedenkopf referred to the possibilities inherent in regional cooperation with the laender of the Federal Republic.

Modrow Accepts Kaifu Invitation to Japan

LD0501145890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1421 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu discussed current questions concerning relations between the two states in a telephone conversation today.

According to a press statement conveyed to ADN, the two politicians agreed that the progress in cooperation so far is of great value and that a further activation of contacts and cooperation is being aimed at.

Prime Minister Kaifu expressed his government's support for the democratization process in the GDR and extended an official invitation to Modrow to visit Japan, which was accepted with gratitude.

Reportage on Visit by RSA Foreign Minister

'Diplomatic Sources' on Ties

LD0401132290 Budapest MTI in English 1156 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 4 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungarian diplomatic sources stress that the establishment of diplomatic relations will not be on the agenda at talks between Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary and Pik Botha of South Africa.

The Hungarian Government believes that such a development should be gradual, and begin with the creation of a framework of humanitarian and economic cooperation.

There are no official trade contacts between Hungary and South African firms, and Hungarian ships and planes are not allowed to use South African ports and airports.

There are indirect trade relations between the two countries but it is difficult assess their real extent. Some estimates say between 5 and 10 million dollars' worth of Hungarian goods—chiefly machines, equipment, chemicals and salami—are sold in South Africa annually, through West German and British intermediaries.

There are up to 15,000 Hungarians living in South Africa, and they too may play a part in promoting direct contacts between the two countries.

Horn, Botha Exchange Views

LD0401181190 Budapest MTI in English 1611 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 4 (MTI)—Roelof Frederik (Pik) Botha, minister of foreign affairs in the Republic of South Africa, paid a visit to Budapest on January 3-4. On Thursday, he held an exchange of views with Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, on major international processes, including the Central and East European changes, as well as local crises. The two politicians also considered possibilities for the peaceful settlement of the problems in the South African region.

Pik Botha briefed his Hungarian counterpart on the situation of his country and the policy of his government. He also outlined ideas on and practical measures to gradually eliminate apartheid and establish democracy.

At the request of his counterpart, Mr Horn gave a brief on the far-reaching changes affecting East Europe. He gave an analysis of the potential effects of the processes on the European situation and the possibilities of expanding international cooperation.

The Hungarian foreign minister stressed that Hungary's foreign policy considers it a major task to promote the assertion of human rights in every country, opposes any kind of racial, national or ethnic discrimination, and condemns all manifestations of apartheid.

Hungary's foreign policy is that the solution to international problems should be sought through negotiations. As a number of states, including several African countries, the Republic of Hungary is also prepared to hold dialogue with the Republic of South Africa, parallel to maintaining its position. This intention is strengthened by the efforts of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to eliminate apartheid and create democracy to ease the tensions in the region. The Republic of Hungary encourages and welcomes every step taken in this direction, and approves South Africa's endeavours to achieve better international cooperation.

Both sides expressed their intention to gradually establish official relations. Mr Horn emphasized that Hungary is guided by the wish to encourage the favourable changes going on in the South African region. He expressed the hope that the elimination of apartheid will pave the way for a cooperation in accordance with the interests of both countries. It was considered the several thousand citizens of South Africa of Hungarian origin could contribute a great deal to the success of the process.

Botha Says Talks 'Frank, Open'

LD0401221190 Budapest MTI in English 2120 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 4 (MTI)—Having concluded his visit to Hungary, a press conference was held on Thursday evening by minister of foreign affairs in the Republic of South Africa, Pik Botha.

Mr Botha reported that there were no specific agreements, either political or economic, concluded with his Hungarian hosts, as his visit had been of an "exploratory" character. Mr Botha said his visit was motivated by the South African Government's concept that "the time has come for demolishing the walls", and because he wanted to get first-hand update on events. From this aspect, the discussions with the foreign minister Gyula Horn were held to be of outstanding importance, termed as frank, open and characterised by an awareness to problems.

On the situation in Eastern Europe and the South African region, Mr Botha pointed out that the priority given to democratic transformation in both regions creates a basis for the deepening of dialogue. Mr Botha also pointed out that it is the firm intention of his government to dismantle the country's present laws on apartheid. The first practical step in this direction is the drafting of the country's new constitution, with the cooperation of each party in South Africa, including the African National Congress, Mr Botha said.

Horn Interviewed on Eve of Visit to Israel

TA0501132490 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 5 Jan 90 p 3

[Yehuda Lahav report from Budapest]

[Excerpts] "The Middle East conflict is currently the gravest regional problem and has repercussions for

Europe and the entire world. This is the reason for our hope to try to solve it. But such activity must be based on recognition of the facts and the authentic positions of the parties involved while being open-minded and without preconceptions. That is the aim of my visit to Israel."

These remarks were made by Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn to 'AL HAMISHMAR on the eve of his visit to Israel. Horn, who is due to arrive in Israel on 7 January, will be the first Hungarian foreign minister to visit here.

Horn claimed that relations with Israel should not be seen as meaning we are in complete agreement or as a weakening of Hungary's ties with the Arab countries. [passage omitted]

In reply to a question by our correspondent whether there was not a danger that in the newly created situation, Hungarian nationalism would be reawakened and its aspiration for the reestablishment of "Greater Hungary" would be revived, Horn responded that there is such a danger and that if such a trend comes into being it might lead to a holocaust in the region.

He admitted that there are anti-Semitic trends in Hungary, but added: "No more than in other countries. Anti-Semitism is an isolated phenomenon, not a social trend. I do not know any political party in Hungary that is marked by anti-Semitic tendencies. What we really lack is European political culture, tolerance, and the ability to conduct a debate in a proper way."

He did not agree with the claim that Hungary has not shaken off its past, particularly the cooperation of many Hungarians with the Nazis. "We tried the war criminals and punished them. Our parliament and government admitted Hungary's part in the destruction of the Jews, and denounced it. The Jews' sensitivity is understandable to me, but they must understand that there is almost nobody in Hungary who was not affected one way or another. My father and brother, who were active in the anti-Nazi underground, were imprisoned after Hungarians informed on them to the Gestapo 2 days after the Germans occupied Hungary in 1944. My brother was saved, but my father was murdered. That is why I have a personal reason to hate the Germans and those Hungarians who informed on them. But if we look back in anger all the time, there will never be rapprochement in this country."

He said that in recent days an anti-Arab wave has been felt in Hungary. Hungarian media published the reports about foreign mercenaries, among them Arabs, who participated in the fighting in Romania. In the wake of these reports there were some in Hungary who tended to view each Arab as Ceausescu's agent. "I am worried about this tendency and warn about it, just as I warn against any other sign of hatred and preconceptions based on nationalist or racist reasons. [passage omitted]

Nyers Interviewed on Reforms in East Europe

AU0201144190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed report on interview with Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by POLITIKA's biweekly magazine SVET; date and place not given: "Nationalism Is Prohibited by Constitution"]

[Text] Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, kindly responded to the request of the editorial board of POLITIKA's biweekly magazine SVET to answer several questions on the situation in East Europe, the scope of the reforms, internal trends in Hungary, and Hungarian-Yugoslav relations. We are presenting the most interesting parts of Nyers' interview published in today's 200th jubilee edition of SVET.

"As far as our country's history is concerned," Nyers said assessing Hungary's post war development, "one could say that after 1956 Hungary did not really lack major changes. The consolidation that took place after 1956—which unfortunately also contained excessive insults as a reply to insults directed at us—temporarily attained national unity. Some 10 years later, in 1968, we launched the economic reform which released an enormous creative energy, but this reform was halted and restricted in the first half of the 1970's. This period was very important for us: I took part in preparing the reform's launching, but was also present when it was distorted; I also witnessed all the distortions which led the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to the impasse. And finally I lived to take part, together with the reform forces, in attempts to create a new Hungary, democratic socialism, society based on the general consensus and joint efforts. In this sense, my life is really merged with Hungary's most recent history."

Healthy Agitation in Hungary

Nyers then went on to speak in great detail about his vision of Hungary's future developments.

"I believe that positive changes will take place in Hungary and that political parties will channel the present agitation in this direction. In our country there are indeed many parties, because people are searching for opportunities to express their political views through the forms that suit them best. Political diversification and differing views are necessary for a true flaring up of democracy. I think that the rapprochement of different views could only be beneficial. The presence of several parties in Hungary led to the extreme agitation which facilitated a cultured way of conducting political discussions and politics, and a confrontations of views, something we have unfortunately got out of the habit of doing in the last 40 or so years. I am convinced that the emerging democracy will benefit national reconciliation, the search for a consensus, and the creation of a new type of national unity. United in this way we will stand greater chances in starting work on solving problems that are oppressing us."

Rezso Nyers also spoke in great detail about nationalism.

"Nationalism in Hungary is a constant factor as it is, for instance, in Yugoslavia and some other countries. At times of crisis it is not difficult to stir up nationalist passions. People who are not educated in terms of politics, or in other respects, are always a suitable medium for the nationalist demagogy. We think that the newly born political parties and movements want to participate responsibly in political life and that they will eliminate the social-nationalist and chauvinist demagogy from their arsenal. The Hungarian Constitution and our laws prohibit these ideologies' promotion. I hope that the Hungarians, regardless of which political party they belong to, will not confuse patriotism with nationalism. At the same time, we will not keep silent if other countries try to incite nationalist passions, especially those countries where Hungarians live."

An Example for Europe

The leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party also spoke in great detail about Hungarian-Yugoslav relations:

"Since the submission of our proposal to set up an extended de-militarized zone along the Austrian and Yugoslav borders, we have fully explained how we envisage the demilitarization of border areas. We basically think that we have good-neighborly relations which do not require the employment of bigger military troops along these border than is necessary. At the same time, our initiative should become an example for building a better atmosphere throughout Europe. Demilitarization could free a considerable amount of resources which could be used for something else, perhaps for the protection of the human environment as you said."

Nyers also explained his views on rehabilitation as a new political phenomenon in socialist countries.

"I think that rehabilitation is necessary. The question of rehabilitation was initiated by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party last year. The opposition benefited from this most, but the process of rehabilitations should not stop.... However, besides the need to rehabilitate innocent victims, one should stress something else, something about the lawlessness of Stalinism. The rehabilitation of Stalin's victims could also be done in a Stalinist way. This should be condemned immediately, because this undermines democracy."

In the final part of his interview to SVET, Nyers assessed Mikhail Gorbachev's influence on events in East Europe.

"Gorbachev is very careful not to interfere in domestic political events in East European countries regardless of the fact that they are members of the Warsaw Pact. Gorbachev does not even have a conceptualized policy on central Europe as yet. Although this represents a shortcoming in Gorbachev's global policy, it is good for others. Therefore, it is not true that Gorbachev is interfering in the internal affairs of East European countries. East European countries have experienced an explosion of contradictions that have been simmering for years...."

Editorial on Prospects for Golden Era in Romania

AU0401154290 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Dec 89 p 3

[Pal Bokor editorial: "The Golden Era"]

[Text] The golden age has come to an end, and the golden era can now start.

According to the news reported by MTI at 1212 local time on 22 December, Nicolae Ceausescu, the head of the Ceausescu clan and the emperor and conducator of the Socialist Republic of Romania was deposed. Originally—we are in Eastern Europe—the news was flashed to the world by a poet, Mircea Dinescu, while another poet, Petru Cretia, said on the BBC in London that this regime had presented itself to the Romanian people as a "golden era" and an "era of light."

Later, this "golden age" will be described as a late stone age. Of the "era of light," the former subjects of this regime think of evenings "brightened" with 25-watt lamps, meager dinners, and freezing nights spent shivering in bed.

We, who knew about the terrible emptiness prevailing in the stricter-regime barracks of the camp in the East only from Hungarians who arrived here and from the dwindling number of ELORE newspapers [Hungarian-language daily published in Bucharest] coming to us, think first of all that the 23 million people of this barracks confounded all our expectations. This kingdom defended by 70,000 Securitate henchmen and many more agents and with a bureaucracy of millions fell with surprising speed after the events in Temesvar [Timisoara]. There is something comic in this suddenness, just like in the political and moral fall of Honecker who provided two dozen private cars to his family. It is a pity that we have nothing to laugh about. It is a pity that we are witnessing the last act of a tragicomedy in which the last scene before the final curtain was also full of blood.

However, we can rejoice, and not primarily at the dictator's fall. We did not know that his castle was made of papier-mache; we only knew that it could be conquered. However, we must learn a lesson from the speed of these events. This nation, our eastern neighbors, could not be intimidated, starved, spiritually leached, and made to lose their willpower. In other words, this nation is also an important ally for us in the struggle for advancement that has now been going on in all of Eastern Europe, as well as for preserving this area's identity, including, perhaps, the left-wing movement, although today I can only speak of this on my own behalf. Looking at the new Eastern Europe, many of us can agree that the golden age can perhaps begin now. But what kind of golden age? An era of second-hand, lagging, and servile delayed capitalism? Or something else, something that is more than that? There is no answer to these

questions even after the events in Bucharest. At the most, both left- and right-wing people must accept the fact that the entire Eastern-European "socialism" had as much in common with socialism as Nicolae Ceausescu's golden age had with reality.

However, this is not a day of ideology but of victory. This is a day for expressing our respect and admiration for the Romanian people, including the Hungarian minority in Romania. We have been have following with concern whether the disgusting rattles of national and nationality hostility would not disturb events in Temesvar. We heard machine-gun fire, helicopter noises, and malicious instigations only from one side, from that of the authorities. On the other side, Hungarians and Romanians formed one chain of common slogans. The slogans said: "Down with tyranny!"

The chain of Hungarian and Romanian people in Temesvar formed in order to defend a young priest called Laszlo Tokes, and this fact will obviously have importance for the future history of this part of Europe. It will also be important in determining whether a real golden era begins or not. Everyone knows from the history of this part of Europe that, in the past, even the desire for unity was voiced only in a "humming, silent, funeral tone," and one side's desire for freedom often degenerated into a death-rattle because of the other side. However, now—and this is why the quality of that chain of people in Temesvar is so important—all the national, social, and political processes are advancing in the same direction. The last of the ancient regimes in Eastern Europe fell on 22 December, and its last ruler—and compared with him, King Mihai could give the impression of an enlightened citizen—is trying to escape from the spearmen of a revolutionary people like Richard the Third, and is crying in vain: "My country for a helicopter!" The physical reckoning might be delayed, and, fearing the wrath of the people, the Securitate troops might try to stage a counterattack, but the outcome of the war is clear.

Birladeanu, a founding member of the Romanian Communist Party, who was the first to protest in public against Ceausescu's reelection, expressed modest wishes on Bucharest Television: "Let us have silence, light, warmth, and bread." During these historic hours for the world, the Hungarian people—and not only the Hungarians—will obviously add their own wishes. As a journalist, I can again speak only on my own behalf. My wish for the Romanian people and the Hungarians in Romania, people who toppled the dictatorship, is the following: Let there be freedom, and let there finally be prosperity!

This can be achieved! Because, to use a rather well-worn but essential expression, the geopolitical realities have changed beyond recognition. Our historical memory is also incapable of wandering so far back in the past to see signs as favorable as those of today. Today, there are no longer Boyars, generals, Cossaks, lancers, theocracies, and bureaucracies hindering the road leading to progress and democratic reorganization, the road of freedom and prosperity.

Today, not only do the Danube River and the Olt River have the same voice, but the Elbe River and the Olt River have the same voice; and this voice might be humming and low, but it is by no means "funereal." This voice is that of a new life in which the luxury vehicles and white helicopters belonging to conducators [reference to Nicolaie Ceasescu] will be shown in museums. Unfortunately, not only museum objects will remind the people of these vehicles' passengers. The words of the dictators will also be quoted for a long time. We would like to quote Nicolae Ceausescu's words as often as possible, namely that "the Hungarian question does not exist." Although there is a long road leading from the stone-age to the golden era, we would like the Conducator to receive history's consolation prize and to enter history as "the last dictator before the golden age."

Interior Ministry Deputy on Romanian Aid

LD2812182989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] In the Interior Ministry, Deputy Minister Zoltan Gal gave a briefing on the coordination of support offered to Romania. Katalin Horvath reports:

[Horvath] It is not yet exactly known what is most needed in Romania. In any event, it is not possible to continue the previous assistance, whereby everyone gives what he is able to give. After a time, this could cause a goods shortage in the supply of food, medicines, and gasoline. Because the provision of aid is still not organized in Romania, according to indications, many goods are lost. They do not always end up in the hands of those in need. The border guard has reported that there has been an upswing in the black market in some places. In the future, there should be a change-over to support in the form of money, so that out of the money which is amassed it will be possible to buy goods which are needed. For this reason, the Finance Ministry within a few days will open an independent aid account. We will find out its number at that time.

By the way, private persons and enterprises can deduct from their taxes the money sent as assistance. If people, from among the Romanian citizens staying in our country, would like to visit Romania, they must hand in their residence permits at the border. Not even the Interior Ministry knows at the moment whether they later will be able to return to Hungary.

MSZP's Vastagh Meets Yakovlev in Moscow

LD2712232589 Budapest MTI in English 2108 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, December 27 (MTI)—Pal Vastagh, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP, MSZP], and Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Committee of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, held talks on relations between the HSP and the CPSU, on Wednesday. Discussions were also held in the course of

the two-hour meeting about international issues, with special attention given to the evaluation of the Romanian situation.

The Hungarian politician reported on the home political situation, and expressed his conviction that the currently divided Hungarian left-wing will shortly find the way to cooperation in the interest of renewing socialism. On behalf of the HSP Mr Vastagh again raised the issue of caring for the graves of the Hungarian soldiers who died in World War II. The Soviet side showed considerable readiness to settle the problem in a humane manner.

On behalf of the CPSU, Mr Yakovlev expressed the cooperation readiness of the Soviet Communists with all Hungarian political forces which are followers of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation. Several practical agreements were reached at the meeting on developing relations between the two parties in the near future.

MSZP Distances Itself From Named Officials

LD0401194590 Budapest MTI in English 1818 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 4 (MTI)—A policy statement was adopted at the Wednesday presidential session of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP], which points out that the HSP does not assume anything in common with such public figures of the past era as Bela Biszku, Sandor Gaspar, Mihaly Korom, Karoly Nemeth and Arpad Pullai. The HSP must also distance itself from the erroneous economic policy of the Lazar government, it was reported on Thursday, by Viktor Polgar, spokesman of the HSP.

According to the HSP's Presidium, it must relentlessly face up to the party's past, naming all those who can be held politically responsible for the present crisis. In the policy statement, former leaders who created obstacles to the unfolding of the necessary political and economic reforms should carry responsibility accordingly.

The Presidium proposes that the HSP's parliamentary group of MPs [members of parliament] should initiate the setting up of an ad hoc committee. According to their position, a statement of private property should be made by all national and country party leaders including the presidents of the county and municipal council.

The HSP's document also stresses that the process of establishing personal responsibility must not lead to show trials, but investigations should reveal the name of all who can be called to account for despotism and abuse of power. In its policy statement the HSP's Presidium draws attention to the fact that responsibility for political deeds and breaches of the law should be explicitely separated and differentiated.

New MSZMP Chairman Thurmer Interviewed

On 14th Party Congress

LD2012235889 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest December 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Akylbek Saliyev:

The first stage of the 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party ended Monday morning after a 18-hour discussion. It resulted in the election of the party's leadership and the adoption of the rules.

Gyula Thurmer, 36, has become the party's chairman.

"There were certain difficulties during preparations for the congress, as participants in our movement came to the party with various levels of experience, ages and opinions concerning the path to socialism," Thurmer told TASS.

Personal ambitions sometimes hampered party interests. However, the congress successfully solved these problems. Congress participants confirmed the party's unity and consolidated it with the new rules that are very democratic.

The decisive role is attached to primary party organisations. Party members can and must decide all issues on their own. Only a very narrow range of issues must be considered by central party bodies.

Regional and city committees will be replaced by coordinating bureaus, to which primary party organisations will send their representatives. Decisions will be made by either the Central Committee or primary organisations.

The congress will continue in late January-early February, 1990, in order to have time to prepare a political statement and discuss it in the primary party organisations. This time it will be a short political document.

The party will also elaborate its stand on social insurance, debts and a number of other problems. An urgent task is negotiations with the Hungarian Socialist Party, a potential ally of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. It is also important to begin a dialogue with trade unions.

"I think we will also establish cooperation with the foreign political parties that are close to us, and I can say with pleasure that the cable from the CPSU Central Committee to the congress of Hungarian communists found a cordial response. They value highly the fact that Soviet comrades were the first to respond to their forum," said Thurmer.

On Party's Role

AU2912182789 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 29 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with MSZMP Chairman Gyula Thurmer by Gregor Mayer in Budapest; date not given: "Public Ownership's Majority Is Decisive"]

[Text] VOLKSSTIMME: Comrade Thurmer, you have become chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] at a relatively early age. Do you see yourself as a "transitional solution" or do you already have a firm hold on things in your party?

Thurmer: Look, it was clear that the new MSZMP leadership needed new faces. Representatives of the Left who had a strong image, including Karoly Grosz, Janos Berecz, Robert Ribanski, or Frigyes Puja, who have done quite a lot recently to reorganize the MSZMP, have more or less exhausted themselves in the political struggles of the past.

For this reason, we need the young, because at the moment the majority of our members belong to the older generation. As far as I myself am concerned, I would have wanted to participate in the party's movement, no matter in what position. I was surprised when I was proposed as chairman. This proposal was not submitted by the preparatory committee, but by the delegates. As a result of this, I felt obliged to accept the proposal.

VOLKSSTIMME: Where do you see the social basis of the MSZMP?

Thurmer: If you had asked me after the party congress in October whether there is a party that represents the interests of the workers, cooperative peasants, and of the intelligentsia, I would have answered: No. After 17 December I can say that the MSZMP is alive and exists and advocates these interests. In view of our character and our basis, we want to be primarily a workers party.

VOLKSSTIMME: Can you indicate specific figures on your party's membership?

Thurmer: We are currently struggling against technical difficulties that result from the transition. Many have told us that they consider themselves to be members of the MSZMP. However, a complete technical registration has not been carried out so far. The number of those who registered themselves by name and received a number totals over 65,000. However, the actual number of members is considerably higher. Registration is continuing and the data are being processed electronically.

VOLKSSTIMME: How will relations between the MSZMP and the other leftist parties, particularly the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], be shaped in the future?

Thurmer: We proceed from the fact that the MSZP is a leftist party, and we would like to cooperate closely with this party. In the long run, we consider it also possible to cooperate during elections. I state this despite the fact that individual leading MSZP representatives have already made it clear that cooperation with the MSZMP is out of the question.

I can only tell them that they should also listen to their members, because I have learned from my own experiences that a great number of them do not want a fratricidal war, but close cooperation between the two parties. I recently had a telephone conversation with MSZP Chairman Reszo Nyers during which I suggested that the two party leaderships meet.

VOLKSSTIMME: Are there other social forces with whom you consider cooperation possible?

Thurmer: We want to cooperate with all leftist forces. There are leftist forces within the social democratic movement, particularly within the Independent Social Democratic Party (a splinter group of the historic Social Democratic Party—the editor), but also in the People's Party, and the left wing of the Democratic Forum.

VOLKSSTIMME: What about the trade unions?

Thurmer: I had a discussion recently with the chairman of the National Trade Union Council, Sandor Nagy, and we agreed that the MSZMP and trade union leaderships will start talks in the new year because we struggle for the same sections of the population. The trade unions safeguard the economic interests of the working people and our party safeguards their political interests.

VOLKSSTIMME: At its last session in the old year the parliament adopted an austerity program and a budget that contains severe cuts in social expenditure. How do you assess this?

Thurmer: The MSZMP does not agree with the guidelines on the housing policy. We do not consider it right to make the working people suffer from the burdens of an economic crisis which they did not cause. We also reject the draft budget because the government, at the last minute, makes the population carry all the burdens which should have been discussed at a much earlier point.

However, we still see that it would have been a mistake to cause the fall of the government. (Prime Minister Nemeth had announced his resignation in case his programs are not accepted—the editor). This would only have resulted in early elections. However, it is better for the country if elections take place at a normal time, sometime in March.

VOLKSSTIMME: The MSZMP has not presented a clear party program so far. A draft program exists which can be described as leftist and Marxist, but many points are rather vague.

Thurmer: I think that considerations are being made everywhere in Europe as to where the workers parties are going. I see two dangers in this respect: The one is that part of the workers parties will become social democratic, such as the MSZP in Hungary. However, these parties cannot be social democratic parties in the classic sense, because they also include communists, and they also have a different past. In addition, "proper" social democratic parties exist already.

The other danger I see, which may partly be caused by the difficult economic situation, is that the workers parties will develop back into old-style communist parties. This would not be good, because then they would not be able to face up to today's challenges.

For this reason, I believe that we can assume a pioneering role in the future if we continue to be a workers party, in which there is space for both communists and social democrats, with a program that is based on renewed socialism! We preserve the basic communist values. For this reason, we accept mixed ownership, but we consider the majority of public ownership decisive. However, we do not want to ensure public ownership through administrative measures, but through higher economic efficiency. We do not reject private ownership either, but we reject a sellout of the country to domestic and foreign capitalists.

At the same time, we are aware that socialism can no longer be built in the old way. It is not the renewal of socialism that is to be blamed for the fact that we have been witnessing a move toward the right in Hungary this year. The democratization of political life was necessary by all means. However, the country's rightist forces have so far known better how to use the democratic instruments.

VOLKSSTIMME: What are the prospects of socialism in Hungary like?

Thurmer: The political atmosphere is not favorable for the left. Today it is indeed not easy to convince the younger generation that socialism is able to solve our society's problems. However, we have to try it, and we have to do so as early as at the upcoming parliamentary elections. In the long run, the left will again win positions. When most people today think back to socialism, they first of all remember the mistakes that were committed, the omissions, and the violations of laws.

Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, however, when the people will be confronted with true unemployment, when the individual will not be able to pay for his living (and that of his family), when the political situation will become increasingly uncertain, when the shift toward the right will grow, then most people will remember the positive sides of socialism: secure work, free education and medical care, and equal opportunities.

VOLKSSTIMME: Comrade Thurmer, thank you for the interview.

Social Democratic Party Rejects Coalition

LD1812221889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP] has issued a statement rejecting those opinions according to which after the election there would be a possibility for a coalition between the MSZDP, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. According to the stance, the MSZMP is not striving to break with the communist dictatorial methods and the totalitarian ideology. As for the MSZP, it has very many leaders who were earlier compromised and who merely want to salvage their own power. In addition, the Social Democrats sees no chance for closer cooperation with the MSZP because of its communist roots. The MSZDP has incidentally dissociated itself from the grouping that goes by the name, Social Democratic Party, and has stated that it will not take part in the alliance of the so-called historical parties.

Janicki To Discuss Cooperation With Hungary

LD0501125990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Czeslaw Janicki, deputy premier and minister of agriculture and food industry, is leaving for Budapest today. He is joint chairman of the Polish-Hungarian Mixed Commission, which deals with the development of economic cooperation, the topic that will dominate Deputy Premier Janicki's talks in Budapest. As of 1 January Poland and Hungary have started the implementation of economic reform, (?through which) new possibilities for cooperation are emerging. Deputy Premier Janicki will also be received by Miklos Nemeth, the Hungarian premier.

KPN Criticizes Government Economic Program

LD0401231190 Warsaw PAP in English 2212 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 4—The Political Council of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) conveyed a statement to PAP criticizing the government economic programme and expressing fear that new economic conditions will lead to a sharp rise in social and political tensions.

The authors of the statement say that there are programmes alternative to the government programme and that they have been prepared by a fairly broad spectrum ranging from the socialist left to the national right.

Solidarity Farmers Anxious Over Economic Reform

LD0301220490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] At its meeting, the NSZZ Solidarity National Council of Private Farmers adopted a statement. It declares that the launching of the government economic reform program in its present form is viewed by the union with utmost anxiety. We cannot accept the numerous great burdens to which the farmers have been subjected. The numerous rises in taxes, the prices of fuel, tractors, agricultural equipment, and fertilizers, and the interest rates are leading to a breakdown in agricultural production, declares the statement.

Labor Minister Kuron Speaks on Unemployment

LD0401230990 Warsaw PAP in English 2226 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 4:—Addressing the Sejm Social Policy Committee which today discussed the draft budget of the Labour Ministry and its operation in 1990, Labour and Social Welfare Minister Jacek Kuron stated in part:

"We are entering the unknown. A case in point is the fact that the envisaged scale of unemployment of 400 thousand people is an imaginary number. The forecasts of Polish banks and enterprises show that unemployment should affect not more than 100 thousand people. Meanwhile World Bank experts hold that unemployment could reach 5 million people. The differences in just this one issue best illustrate the number of question marks.

"No one can for example precisely determine today what the implementation of the government economic program will mean for household budgets. For instance, the effects of unemployment will be felt by pensioners living with families. Hence the sphere of poverty or threat of it will expand significantly. In this situation we have to allot the most resources from the budget to social aid and the organization of efficient social services."

Polish Constitutional Changes Viewed

AU0501095190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Maciej Urbaniak report: "A Change In System"]

[Text] A Constitution cannot act as a brake on reforms to the economy and state. There is no way of preparing a new one, corresponding to the needs and hopes of the people, in the 3 weeks that are left of 1989. Therefore all one can do is remove from the text of the Constitution everything that is clearly anachronistic and which might interfere with changes. That is the stance adopted by the Sejm Legislative Commission at its 27 December meeting, which spoke out in favor of expanding the scope of the constitutional changes suggested by Sejm deputies.

There is no doubt that putting back the crown on the eagle's head and reviving the traditional name of Polish Republic [Rzeczpospolita Polska] is a spectacular gesture. Dispensing with the past and rejecting the to-date political system and accompanying set of values is a fundamental change.

The political and socioeconomic systems are dealt with in the first two chapters of the present constitution. If the deputies of the Sejm have their way, these two chapters will be almost completely erased and any necessary parts of them rewritten.

For example, there will be no statement whereby the Polish People's Republic is a socialist state. The following statement is suggested instead: "The Polish Republic is a democratic legal state."

The concept "working people of cities and rural areas" as the holders of power in the state is to be replaced by the concept "people" ["narod"].

Any statements to the effect that the Polish People's Republic protects socialist achievements, consolidates social ownership, guarantees citizens participation in authority, implements the principles of social justice, creates conditions for this, cares for that, supports, publicizes, and so on will disappear.

Constitutional control over property (especially social property) and ways of managing it, and the clauses which

determine the state's attitude toward state enterprises, cooperatives, and agriculture will also disappear, together with Article 19, which says that work is the right, duty, and honor of every citizen. This article has been rendered defunct by unemployment, which is an essential side effect in the process of healing the Polish economy.

What do we have instead? Not much. All we have is an outline of a new reality and new Polish political and socioeconomic system. No one is able to say for sure what our country will look like in even 3 months time, let alone in 1 year's time. Therefore the Commission suggests only the most essential changes, including the following:

—The people exercise state authority via their elected representatives in the Sejm, Senate, and people's councils, and this authority is also exercised by means of a direct expression of the will of the people in the form of referendums;

—There is a freedom to associate oneself with political parties, the sole restriction on this freedom being the Constitutional Tribunal's power to dissolve any party whose activity clashes with the constitution;

—The Polish Republic guarantees economic freedom regardless of forms of ownership, and this freedom can only be restricted by an act of parliament.

The Commission has not yet finished its work, because the idea of placing the prosecutor's office under the justice minister's control has caused a controversy. The prosecutor's office is independent of the government, and if the justice minister also performed the function of chief prosecutor, this might influence the work of his colleagues in the government.

All the proposed constitutional changes have to be put in writing before the end of the Sejm's economic debate, and are meant to be the last item on the current Sejm session's agenda on Friday or Saturday.

How much does it cost to change the country's name and emblem? No one has worked it out. The state budget does not even foresee it. All we know is that the cost will be enormous, for it will be necessary to replace every office sign, rubber stamp, border post, bank note, coin, chain of office of judges and registrars, and many other items. This will require tons of paint, paper, and metal, and an enormous amount of work. After all, the local government reorganization in the early seventies cost Z7 billion in 1970's prices.

But how can one reconcile social wishes with the state of the treasury? The only solution is to spread the entire operation out in time. That is what the Sejm Legislative Commission will probably suggest.

Walesa Donates Nobel Money to Economic Fund

LD0401141190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Our Gdansk correspondent tells us that today Lech Walesa transferred the financial gain from his Nobel Peace Prize—$200,000—to the fund for supporting economic initiatives of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

Solidarity Candidate Takes Over Elblag

LD2812221189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Zdzislaw Olszewski, a Solidarity candidate, is taking over in Elblag. He received 68 percent of valid votes of members of the voivodship people's council. His opposing candidate from the Polish United Workers Party received 27 percent of the vote.

I do not fear that I will be working contrary to my principles. I tried to implement the ideals guiding the current government already in 1981, said the new voivodship official.

Citizens Group on Walesa Special Powers Statement

LD1712055889 Warsaw PAP in English 2256 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 16—Today's meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] was dominated by the government drafts of economic laws to be submitted to the Sejm debate on Sunday.

Participants in the meeting discussed the proposed changes in the hard currency law, tax and bank laws and in the financial policy of enterprises and regualtions aimed to counteract monopolistic practices in economy.

The Sejm will set up a 36-strong extraordinary committee for the examination of the proposed economic bills whose members, for the first time ever, will be selected not on the basis of parliamentary affiliation but according to the criterion of competence.

Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz commented on some of the issues raised in the discussion. He said among other things that the government does not propose a revolution in taxes as yet nor any in-depth reform of taxes. Such reform is going to start not earlier than in 1991.

Participants in the meeting discussed the stance of the caucus on Lech Walesa's appeal to vest the government with special powers as to the legal regulations concerning the most important spheres of the country's economic life.

"We perceive this appeal as a critical assessment of the Sejm's work and a sign of concern whether, within the frames of the routine parliamentary procedures, it will be possible to find the answer to the extraordinary situation in which the country found itself and in which the government, at the beginning of the next year, is

bound to undertake activities of primary importance for Polish economy," Bronislaw Geremek, the OKP leader said and added that considered is the possibility of a meeting between the leaders of the two parliamentary chambers and of the government.

Finally, deputies and senators adopted the following statement on the issue:

"The Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group received the statement by 'Solidarnosc' leader Lech Walesa of Dec. 12, 1983 with utmost attention. The senators and deputies of the OKP regard this statement as a sign of concern in face of the delay in the economic and systemic changes in Poland.

We perceive our role, as a parliamentary floor group, in starting up, immediately, a very intensive work on economic bills whch the government submitted to the Sejm in the last few days. We are convinced that the time-table adopted by the Sejm and the Senate will make it plossible for the parliament to fulfill its legislative duties and vesting the government with special powers will be unnecessary," the statement reads.

With a minute of silence, members of the caucus paid tribute to the late Andrey Sakharov.

On the eighth anniversary of the tragedy in the "Wujek" coal mine, the members of the OKP also paid honour to the fallen miners.

New Year Message by PZPR's Rakowski

AU0501122090 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Dec 89-1 Jan 90

[New Year's message from Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party first secretary: "We All Wish Ourselves As Many Positive Deeds As Possible In The New Year"]

[Text] It is a tradition to give each other New Year wishes. They do not always come true, but we always hope they will. People and the nation need hope in order to live.

We have been through a very difficult year. The events were a pleasant surprise for many people, but also a shock to many others. Nevertheless, one can say that hope is the prevailing emotion—hope that things can improve, hope that we do not have to wage a war on each other, that we can liberate ourselves from the blindness of political struggle, that there is a stronger chance of extricating Poland from its economic and social torment. Thanks to the wisdom of many Poles, we discovered in 1989 that we can afford to solve accumulated conflicts by peaceful means and without a loss of face.

I would like to wish my countrymen that in 1990 we do not lose the values that fulfilled such a great role during the "roundtable" and in subsequent months. Everyone knows that the material conditions of many families, in fact all of us, are far from satisfactory. In many cases, these conditions have deteriorated. Even so, we must not lose faith in the fact that millions of people, united by a common desire, may lift our country to such a level that life in future will be easier, not harder.

We all realize that there are no simple solutions. Premier Mazowiecki is not a magician. Like every one of us, he needs help. Our help cannot be limited to words. Therefore let us all wish ourselves as many positive deeds as possible in the new year.

I also wish to convey my sincere wishes to members of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]. In 1989 they shared the same concerns, were troubled by the same burdens, and busy with the same problems as everyone else. But as members of a particular political formation, they had their own special fears. They experienced in great depth events like the "roundtable," the results of the Sejm and Senate elections, and the assumption of power by what used to be the opposition. Some of them reacted by means of apathy and a loss of desire to act. Others saw in these events a bitter lesson of history. Still others saw in these events a chance for the future.

For very many PZPR members, this future is a new party, new in the sense that it can meet halfway, with minimum of mistakes, the hopes and expectations of every working man and everyone who wants a progressive leftwing party in the Polish political landscape.

I wish all party members, especially those whose membership consists of more than just carrying a red membership card, that in 1990 they may correctly interpret the rhythm of the age and feel pleased by the fact that life has confirmed the correctness of the road we embarked upon 1 year ago, at the 10th Central Committee Plenum.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski

Comparison of Jaruzelski's New Year Message

AU0401175590

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish on 2 January on page 1 carries a 500-word message of new year greetings from President Wojciech Jaruzelski. Comparison with the item headlined "Jaruzelski's New Year Message," published in the 2 January East Europe DAILY REPORT on page 43, column 2, shows the two versions to be identical except for the following:

Paragraph two, sentences six and seven read: ...was frequently present; we were sucked in by a whirlpool of struggle. It was necessary...(supplying passage);

Paragraph six, last sentence, to paragraph seven, first sentence reads: ...great and desired support. (new graf)

We are a...(supplying word);

Antepenultimate paragraph, last sentence reads: ...on duty, or on guard, and those who...(supplying words);

Penultimate paragraph, only sentence, to end of item reads: ...Happy New Year....(deleting last paragraph).

PZPR Central Committee To Meet 6 Jan

LD0301190790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] The Politburo of the Polish Workers United Party Central Committee has called a meeting of the Central Committee for 6 January.

Rakowski Interviewed on Upcoming PZPR Congress

LD0401212390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party first secretary, by unidentified reporter in Silesia; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Three weeks before the 11th Congress of the PZPR, Mieczyslaw Rakowski met representatives of various party milieux and also delegates to the 11th Congress from Katowice Voivodship. Until the Congress, the party is only one party. We are talking about the same party all the time.

[Rakowski] Yes. Perhaps it is a small success in the general transformations in which we are taking part, but the party existed as one organization until the election of delegates and all signs are that it will also be one organization until the congress. It is a very important factor from the point of view of the party's position vis-a-vis the left. If, in the meantime, the party broke up into several groups fighting against each other, I think there would not be one congress but three, four, or even five.

[Reporter] There are at least several platforms here in Silesia. However, the platform calling itself a worker program platform received the fewest mandates and the Eighth of July Movement has received almost one-third of the mandates.

[Rakowski] Yes, I am aware of this. I think that one does not have to refer to the fact that one defends the interests of workers every day in this, let us call it, slogan manner but really makes representations in defense of these interests when it is needed and when it should be done. Then, an intellectual or a member of the intelligentsia can defend such interests in a more clear cut manner than someone who shouts all the time that he is defending these interests.

[Reporter] Rakowski is known in Europe. Rakowski is perhaps less known in Silesia. Will Rakowski be a celebrity, a statesman, and a politician in 1990?

[Rakowski] I am a man who still wants to struggle for something. Perhaps this will also be a reason for which I shall continue to exist, but I also envisage the fact that I will cease to exist [as heard].

Jaruzelski Receives Geremek, Orzechowski

LD2812215289 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 28—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today leader of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek.

They discussed Sejm's activities and the ongoing parliamentary debate.

Also today, president Jaruzelski received leader of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Parliamentary Floor Group Marian Orzechowski.

Orzechowski briefed the president on the work of his caucus and its participation in the present parliamentary debate.

Rakowski Attends Floor Group Closed Session

LD2812214989 Warsaw PAP in English 1948 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 28—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] parliamentary floor group held a meeting with the participation of PUWP CC [Central Committee] 1st secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski here today.

Journalists were not allowed to attend the meeting.

Politburo on Proposed Constitutional Changes

LD2912102189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] The Politburo has issued a statement in which it states that the proposed changes to the Constitution, which have been put forward in the Sejm, ought to be the subject of a national discussion, including a general referendum.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Meet; Discuss Changes

LD3012100889 Warsaw PAP in English 0105 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

During the talk, they stressed that significant transformations which are now taking place in Poland became possible owing to prudent cooperation of all political and social forces.

The government has at its disposal a great capital of social confidence at the threshold of a difficult year of 1990. In light of expected sacrifices, effort for maintaining respect for government and supreme state authorities is especially vital for the success of the process of reforms.

President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, expressing satisfaction over the hitherto course of cooperation, exchanged New Year's greetings.

Glemp Named Chairman of National Fund Council

LD2312215389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Today a National Fund Council was appointed. In the morning, the speakers of the Sejm and Senate, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski, came to Miodowa Street in Warsaw to ask the Polish primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, to take on the post of chairman of the National Fund Council. In the afternoon, the Sejm and Senate Presidia met and gave details on the composition of the council.

The chairman of the Council is Cardinal Jozef Glemp, archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw. The members of the council are: Tadeusz Fiszbach, deputy speaker of the Sejm and signatory of the Gdansk agreements; Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group; Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, speaker of the Sejm; Edward Moskal, chairman of the Congress of American Polonia; Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, courier from Warsaw, emigre politician, and former director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe; Jan Plater-Gajewski, leader of Poles in Kazakhstan; Edward Raczynski, former ambassador of the Polish Republic in London and former president of the Polish Republic in exile; Andrzej Stelmachowski, speaker of the Senate; Jozef Slisz, deputy speaker of the Senate; Lech Walesa, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity.

Mazowiecki, Walesa Attend Meeting

LD3012203289 Warsaw PAP in English 1949 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 30—Members of the National Gift Fund Council held their inaugural meeting at the Sejm (parliament) building today.

The council comprises: chairman—Poland's primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp and Sejm Deputy Speaker Tadeusz Fiszbach, chairman of the OKP Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, president of the Polish-American Congress Edward Moskal, Polonian activist from Kazakhstan Jan Plater-Gajewski, Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, Senate Deputy Speaker Jozef Slisz, Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, former head of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe and member of the Polish- American Congress Board of Directors Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, and former Polish ambassador to London and emigre president of the Republic of Poland Edward Raczynski. The latter two members of the council were not present at the meeting.

The meeting was also attended by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

In the name of the government, Premier Mazowiecki appealed to Poles in the country and abroad to support the initiative with their generosity and willingness to serve the fatherland.

"This is one more initiative which confirms that Poland is in need," Lech Walesa said, adding: "I believe that the forces gathered in the council will contribute to next year becoming better for every Pole living in this land."

The council of the fund issued an appeal to Poles for generosity and set up a 5-person executive board, electing Senator Andrzej Wajda its chairman.

The National Gift Fund will gather money deposits, bonds and stocks, hard currency and material gifts. The fund will be used to back health care, social welfare, natural environment protection, education, science and culture.

Jaruzelski Holds Talks With Glemp, Kiszczak

LD2812200589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Polish Primate Jozef Glemp, met in the Belvedere Palace today on the occasion of the approaching new year. They stated with satisfaction that the changes in Poland are being carried out cautiously, and with a feeling of responsibility and understanding for the superior reasons of the nation and state. All public forces have demonstated farsightedness. The end of the year is an occassion to talk about the chances given by the reforms being carried out. Although difficult tasks face the public, the path we have already travelled assures that we will cope with this test as well. The president and primate wished each other a very happy new year.

The president later held another New Year's meeting, with the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW]. General Kiszczak reported on work on organizational changes in the MSW. These plans are aimed, among other things, at creating a new police force. Changes in uniform, titles, service ranks, and terminology will be made. A police force, functioning independently, would carry out exclusively tasks for protecting law and public order, and also citizens' personal security and property. An office for the defense of the state, separate from the police, is to be created from the present intelligence, counter intelligence, and security services.

Cardinal Glemp Conveys Greetings to Mazowiecki

LD2912221889 Warsaw PAP in English 2144 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—Primate of Poland, Jozef Cardinal Glemp called on Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today to convey New Year's greetings.

The two also talked about the current social situation and church affairs.

NSF Offers To Hold Talks With Other Parties

AU0401174190 Paris AFP in English 1727 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 4 (AFP)—Silviu Brucan, a leading member of Romania's ruling Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], said Thursday the government was ready to hold "round table" talks with opposition parties if they wished. Mr. Brucan made the offer at a news conference.

"We will participate in a round table with opposition parties if they wish," he said, adding "I think this will be useful".

It was the first time a leader of the provisional government had offered to hold talks with parties currently forming independently of the committee in advance of free elections due in April.

Election Preparation by NSF, Other Parties

AU0401175590 Paris AFP in English 1449 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] BUCHAREST, Jan 4 (AFP) The communist-dominated National Salvation Front [NSF] which has governed Romania since the fall of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu will stand in elections due for April, the official ROMPRES news agency reported Thursday.

The report said the NSF would not become a single political party but would instead fight the elections as "a large political organisation uniting all the figures and groupings which rose up to defend human rights during the years of totalitarian tyranny."

The report came as crowds of Bucharest residents on Thursday flocked to the newly-opened headquarters of the National Peasant's Christian Democratic Party (NPCDP) to sign up for membership.

The National Peasant's Party, which recently merged with the new Christian Democratic Party, was once the largest in Romania prior to the Communist takeover in 1947.

The party's headquarters, set up in a former schoolhouse in the center of Bucharest, were officially opened Wednesday.

Asked how many people had requested to join the party during the day Thursday, party official Valentin Lazarescu said: "We don't know. It's crazy—the people are pouring in constantly."

Meanwhile in Paris, Ion Ratiu, president of the World Union of Free Romanians (WUFR), announced his intention to stand in the April elections as a candidate for the NPCDP.

Mr. Ratiu's family founded the original National Peasant's Party on June 6, 1917 in the Western Romanian city of Turda.

Speaking at a news conference, Mr. Ratiu said he would run in the elections "if they are properly held" and reiterated the WUFR's opposition "to all communist regimes and all dictatorships."

He said the present government in Romania had "no legitimacy" and called on the NSF to state clearly that it would not take part in the elections.

Mr. Ratiu said he would not return to Romania until it was clear that all emigres invited back to the country would also be allowed to leave again if they chose.

ROMPRES also reported that NSF Council President Ion Iliescu had named Teofil Pop as justice minister and Teodor Vasiliu as president of the Supreme Court.

The daily ROMANIA LIBERA separately reported the formation of an association of former political prisoners, which had elected an executive committee.

The association emphasised that it was non-political and its immediate objective was to unmask the injustice and crimes against humanity committed under the Ceausescu regime.

Separately, another member of the NSF Council denied rumors that the NSF had been conceived and formed prior to the revolution that toppled Mr. Ceausescu.

"The Romanian revolution of December 22 had no prior planning or organization before the events of Bucharest and Timisoara," Silviu Brucan told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in Bucharest.

He said the existence of an organized opposition prior to the revolution would have been impossible because "the Ceausescu dictatorship was not only brutal but also very efficient."

The Romanian National Liberal Party sent letters to all Western embassies in Bucharest to denounce the new regime's hold on major institutions, thus preventing other political groups from operating successfully.

"At the present time, absolutely all activities—administrative, judicial, cultural and journalistic—are in the hands of the new government," said the NLP, which was a major political force in Romania until 1946.

"Opposition political parties, most of whose former members died in prison, lack everything and receive no government support to start up again successfully in their natural function as an opposition."

If current conditions continued, the opposition parties would lose the April elections, according to the letters.

NLP spokesman Dan Lazarescu told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that his group was being led temporarily by Ioanna Bratianu, daughter of Romanian historian Gheorghe Bratianu, the former liberal party head assassinated in prison in 1958.

The NLP, he added, was in contact with the National Peasants' Party in order to present a common list of candidates for the April elections.

NSF President Ion Iliescu Addresses Council

AU0401232390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2009 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Report on speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front (NSF), at a meeting with the county presidents of the Council of the NSF in Bucharest on 4 January]

[Text] As reported, a meeting was held in Bucharest today, the first of its kind, between the members of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] and the presidents of the Front's county councils. The proceedings were led by NSF President Ion Iliescu, who opened the meeting.

[Begin Iliescu recording] Please permit me to open the proceedings of this meeting. It is the first meeting for some members of our council, for the Executive Bureau with the presidents of the county councils of the Front. We decided that we had to broaden the framework of the Front's National Council with all the presidents of the county councils. Apart from this, we also want to complete the composition of the National Council with a number of representatives from large representative units. We asked Timisoara to propose three additional representatives: a worker, a young man, and a German. We also asked Brasov to nominate two workers, asking that they be from the Jiu Valley and Hunedoara; a few big industrial units in Bucharest, as representatives of the workers class; and we asked for nomination proposals from Cluj and Iasi on behalf of the intelligentsia and students of these two big university centers.

I am also waiting for nomination proposals from a number of counties—cooperative presidents, farmers from noncooperativized areas. Therefore, in the coming days, we will ask the presidents from the counties—with whom I talked and whom I asked to come up with nominations so that afterward we can finalize these nominations—to decide on the definitive composition of the National Council of the Front which we will then publish.

We also want all the members of the National Council to be invested by the working collectives.

I will then say something in connection with the local councils: We have set them up spontaneously and there was a good deal of improvisation in the way they were established—both the National Council and the local councils. Yesterday we had a similar discussion with the council in Bucharest and the councils of the districts. We had a discussion about the councils in enterprises and we noted that, indeed, there is a lot of improvisation and, therefore, people also voice criticism and dissatisfaction.

We want to set the creation of all NSF bodies at all levels—from enterprise to National Council—on a representative bases, so that from this point of view, we guarantee that the people have full moral authority and are viewed as people who represent those from among the ranks of which they themselves have come from.

At this meeting, we propose the following agenda:

Being at this plenum, we would like to present a first report on behalf of the government and our council on the activity we have carried out so far and on the problems faced by the national economy at this point.

We will ask the government to report on this issue and if there are suggestions to make to the government at this plenum. The representatives of the counties may also draw attention to some problems which the government should take into consideration, be it at the level of the national economy, or at the local level, where the local administration may need the support of the government; likewise, we must also attend to whatever problems may arise.

In connection with the second point on the agenda, we would like Mr Mazilu to present a report on the measures taken so far and on the stage of the formulation of two basic documents: the Draft Constitution and the Electoral Law.

He will report on steps taken so far and on the stage we have reached, and he will tell us when the first outline of those documents will be ready, documents which will then be discussed and completed within the council prior to their publication, in order to consult our public opinion in connection with their finalization.

Anyway, the Constitution will be a draft. After it is endorsed by the people's vote, on the basis of unanimous consultation, it will be finalized in the constituent assembly following the election.

However, we want to have a constitutional platform, even for the electoral law and for everything we undertake in this period.

As the third point on the agenda, we have distributed to the counties a draft of guidelines regarding the activity of local councils of the NSF.

We wanted to do something similar for the collectives in enterprises but we were unable to prepare it in time for distribution. We have here a very provisional draft—not even we have been able to discuss it fully—nevertheless, we will submit it, so that we do not miss this opportunity; we will read it and with the request that suggestions be provided, so that we are able, in the coming days, to empower the Executive Bureau to finalize it and send it off as a guideline.

Almost all the representatives of the local bodies have requested this because there is great bewilderment in enterprises in connection the manner in which they should operate, what the function of the Front councils

in enterprises is, and what the relations with the enterprise administration are. Therefore, we will atempt to provide an outline. Maybe it is not the ideal solution. [words indistinct] so that we will be able to finalize it at that time. This we propose for the agenda. Are there any other proposals?

Miscellaneous—Are there miscellaneous proposals? Agreed.

I would like to make another proposal under miscellaneous: Mr Geza Domokos, who is a member of our council, is also the initiator of the Hungarian Democratic Union. They have their own platform which is in keeping with the spirit of our platform. He has come up with a proposal on behalf of the Council concerning the problem of relations between nationalities. If he would present this draft so that we can discuss it and then to proceed in the same way, namely to empower the Executive Bureau to finalize it. [sentence as heard]

I think his idea is very good, namely that the Council of the NSF should present a few principled elements and our Front's platform on the nationality problem in Romania. Do you agree? Then we have reached the first point on the agenda and Prime Minister Petre Roman will speak. [end recording]

Silviu Brucan on Revolution, Soviet Visit

AU0401224190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2027 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Silviu Brucan about the Character of the Romanian Revolution"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/1/1990—A press conference was held at the Intercontinental hotel of Bucharest on 4 January in the afternoon when Silviu Brucan, member of the Executive Bureau of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], chairman of the foreign affairs commission, made a statement and answered foreign and Romanian journalists' questions.

First of all, he said, I must tell you frankly how amazed I was that serious newspapers in the West were taken in by the fantastic story of the ploy supposedly set up six months ago to overthrow Ceausescu. I have never thought that the Western media are so vulnerable to such a grossly fabricated story, such a monumental fake. The first thing that should have occurred to them is that if the six-months' ploy involving the Front and the Army were to be true we the leaders of the Front would have boasted about it from the very beginning. To be able to tell the Romanian people that Ceausescu has been overthrown as a result of a well-thought conspiracy that we planned a long time ago could have constituted a formidable asset and a great historical merit deserving the warmest congratulations of the Romanian people. In fact, he went on, the truth is that it has never been such a plan. The truth is that the making of such a plan in Ceausescu's totalitarian police state was simply impossible. The repression and surveillance in Romania were so effective that no political grouping could possibly take shape either within the party or outside the party. Even less one involving the military, the Army. The historical truth is that the massive social explosion of December 22 was one hundred per cent spontaneous and it was only during the powerful attack on the former Central Committee building that the leaders of the Front were for the first time together. The Communist Party remained all the way outside the revolutionary process. Because the party never disassociated itself from Ceausescu, the Romanian people identify Ceausescu with the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and this is why in Romania the Communist party is finished, terminated.

Answering journalists' questions, the speaker specified that the Executive Bureau of the Council of the NSF was made up of eleven members, of whom six were students, as a recognition of the role students, the youth as a whole played in the victory of the revolution. The speaker said that the NSF was not and would never become a political party, that it would take part in the forthcoming elections with its own candidates. This accords with the democratic framework that is being created in Romania through the formation of political parties. We will fight in the elections as these parties will be using the front's entire power of political influence, Silviu Brucan said.

As for the RCP, the speaker said, it is the right of its members to meet, to call a congress, to find a new identity and a new name for their party. It can even take part in the elections. This is also their right. We will welcome the Communists' presence in the elections and we even want to have such an opponent. I must say that all party members, who did not do reprobable acts, will enjoy all civic rights and will not be subject to any restrictions.

As a matter of fact, on the eve of the elections, the Front is willing to participate in round table conferences with other parties, debates we consider useful. We will see if they accept this.

I would like to emphasize an idea, he went on: The NSF is a specific, entirely original product of the revolution. Having this unique character it must be judged without ideological prejudices.

Answering a question on the forthcoming visit to Romania of the foreign affairs minister of the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze, Mr. Brucan said it was awaited with particular interest. We are aware that Moscow wishes to know as accurately as possible what events had taken place in Romania, all the more so as our revolution was unique in character in East Europe, wiping out the Communist party from the political scene.

On the other hand, we expect massive support from the Soviet Union, consisting of energy resources, oil and gas in particular, for which we already have promises. In conclusion, we expect a lot from this visit.

Answering another question, the speaker denied again the rumours regarding the participation of mercenaries in acts of terrorism.

Lupoi on Current Status, Future Role of Army

PM0501120290 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 2 Jan 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Major Mihai Lupoi by Vladimiro Odinzov in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—"We will never stage a coup d'etat, we will never take power, it is a hypothesis which frightens the people and especially the young people too much. We are the people's Army." Major Mihai Lupoi was decisive when he made this promise. The man who issued the decisive appeal to soldiers on television the day the tyrant fell guarantees that the Romanian Army has no Bonapartist leanings. Following is the brief interview:

[Odinzov] Major Lupoi, will the situation not prompt you to play a political role, to lead the country?

[Lupoi] No, I can assure you of that. I know what you are thinking. I know to what you are referring. But, we are well aware that the people, many people, and especially the young people are afraid, too afraid of soldiers seizing power. For this reason, we are determined not to do so, even if it would one day appear appropriate or necessary.

[Odinzov] And what are your priorities?

[Lupoi] Internal security, the defeat of the terrorists, is the first priority. Then there is the security of the borders which is our duty as soldiers, although I would like to specify that we do not regard any country as an enemy or as being hostile. Then, like all Romanians, we are concerned with economic recovery. We are pleased that General Stanculescu, an expert and a patriot, an experienced specialist, has been chosen as economy minister.

[Odinzov] How did you view the revolution?

[Lupoi] As a soldier and as a citizen, I will never be able to forget it. It was a fantastic, extraordinary experience. The people's courage gave our soldiers the courage to fight at the most difficult times.

For the first time we now really feel that we are the people's Army. Consider something else: None of us, I can assure you chose the other side. We feel that we are the only Army in history without deserters.

National Economy Minister on Important Measures

AU0401224790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1841 GMT 4 Jan 90

["The Minister of National Economy makes a few Points"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/1/1990—The setting up of the Ministry of the National Economy meets a highly stringent imperative, that is to coordinate all activities for the reconstruction of the national economy, stated the head of this department, Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, in an interview with the newspaper "ADEVARUL" of 4 January. He specified that the strategic goal pursued was to ensure, alongside the other ministries, a due balance between the economic sectors, taking constructive initiatives as a basis at all organizational levels.

Underscoring the need for a realistic appraisal of all the resources the national economy has at present, and for the elimination of serious distortions, Minister Victor Stanculescu said: We are concerned to outline the availabilities for production in the first quarter of this year by giving top priority to the population's supply and the ensurance of the energy and material resources for production. He noted that in winter productive activities are limited by the energy or fuel base as owing to technical reasons, the import of such resources cannot be over dimensioned.

Referring to the foreign trade activity, the Romanian minister underlined the concern to harmonize exports with imports, also considering the need for growing imports of fuel and energy and of consumer goods. He also stressed that, although the hard currency for the population's consumption and for energy resources grows, imports should not be overtaxed.

Minister Sora on Need for Education Reform

AU0401170190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1204 GMT 4 Jan 90

["An Interview With Minister of Instruction"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/1/1990—"The fact is notorious that the instruction [education] system is one of the most deteriorated in the country", stated Mihai Sora, minister of instruction, in an interview with daily TINERETUL LIBER (No. 11 of January 4, 1990). "In general, the structures with a very long range were diverted from their natural missions and changed into short-range government networks for the immediate interest that was not the interest of the people but the interest of the power".

"The immediate change, starting with the second quarter of the current school year (January 18) must be operated at the level of tuition", the minister added. "We count very much on the common sense and training of the teaching staff who must retain only what was left valid of the old school books, extending them as their own conscience tells them. [no closing quotes as received] "The new school books will be ready by the beginning of the next school year".

The minister mentioned that he has already gotten in touch with large groups of youth—pupils and students—

who advanced claims for the reorganization of instruction. "These consultations will continue", Mihai Sora showed.

Education Ministry Communique

AU0401121890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Taking into consideration the situation which resulted in the cessation of the activity of the former children and students' organizations, the Ministry of Public Education announces the following:

The houses of culture, the cultural, sports, and recreational establishments for students, publications, the majority of which were under the direct jurisdiction of the ministry, will be placed, together with the whole material base, the budget, and personnel under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, as assets which will benefit all students in Romania.

Under the same conditions, the former Palace of Pioneers and Fatherland's Falcons in Bucharest is placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education and the former houses of pioneers and fatherland's falcons, recreational homes, and sports and recreational grounds in the municipality, its sectors, in towns, and communes are placed under the jurisdiction of the County School Inspectorates as assets to benefit all children and pupils of our homeland.

Students' camps will be organized by the Ministry of Public Education, together with the authorized representatives of students.

Pupils' camps, such as Eforie Sud, will be placed under the jurisdiction of the Constanta County School Inspectorate.

The present decision came into force on 1 January 1990.

[Signed] Mihai Sora, minister of public education.

Sports Minister Statement on Priorities

AU0401213890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1206 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/1/1990—In two interviews with the "GAZETA SPORTURILOR" and "TINERETUL LIBER" Mircea Angelescu, the minister of sports in the new Romanian Cabinet outlines "a programme for the salvation of Romanian sports".

High on the list of priorities is the restoration of facilities and sportsgrounds that the dictatorship had confiscated for their original use: the Snagov Lake where regattas used to be organized, and the "Floreasca" sports hall, both of which had virtually been closed to the public because of their vicinity with the dictator's residences.

A substantial investment programme is being drafted (a point should be made here: investment in sports had been nil in the past few years).

Furthermore, the institute for physical education and sports will be restructured.

As far as soccer is concerned, professional status is planned for the higher echelons, along with the autonomy and self-financing of the leading clubs.

Mircea Angelescu shows that his ministry will be democratic, that its staff will be fairly small and that it will cooperate with a number of autonomous organisms some of which are also economically autonomous. These include first of all the Romanian Olympic Committee and the various sports federations that will be given broad attributions also in the field of international relations.

Romanian Foreign Minister Addresses Emigration

TA3112113189 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 31 Dec 89

[Text] The immigration of Soviet Jews via Romania will continue and will enjoy the same positive environment it had in the past. This promise was made in Bucharest by Sergiu Celac, Romania's new foreign minister, in his first meeting with Israeli Ambassador Tzvi Mazel.

The new leadership member promised that his government will take a similarly positive attitude to various other issues shared by the two countries. Our special correspondent in Bucharest, reports that Minister Celac gave our ambassador a cordial reception and welcomed him with the word Shalom.

Decree on Appointment of Labor Minister, Others

AU0501115090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Decree on esgablishment of the Ministry of Labor and Social Care:

The Council of National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. On the basis of the present decree the Ministry of Labor and Social Care is established, through the reorganization of the Ministry of Labor which has been dissolved.

Article 2. Virginia Marmeliuc is appointed minister of labor and social care.

Signed by president of the NSF Council, Ion Iliescu

Decree on establishment of a National Commission for Labor Protection

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1. On the basis of the present decree, the National Commission for Labor Protection is established.

Article 2. Virgil Iga is appointed chairman of the National Commission for Labor Protection, with rank of minister secretary of state

Signed by president of NSF Council Ion Iliescu

Decree

The NSF Council decrees:

Sole Article: Gheorghe Pascovici is appointed general director of the Bucharest Nuclear Physics Institute, with rank of minister secretary of state

Signed by President of the NSF Council Ion Iliescu

By a decree signed by the president of the NSF Council, Constantin Bostina, former deputy minister of National Economy, has been dismissed from office. It has been discovered that Bonstina was directly connected with the former dictators of Romania.

Abrogation of Decree on Abortions 27 Dec

AU2912065689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2057 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Abrogation of a Decree Aimed Against Life"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—The law passed on December 27 by the Council of the National Salvation Front abrogates, among others, the Decree No. 770/1966 regarding the regulation of abortions, a decree extended over the years with other inhumane measures against life. The "demographic policy" instituted and promoted cynically by the monstrous Ceausescu dictatorship, far from statuting elements that should contribute to the Romanian people's vitality was in fact an aggression against millions of women, children and, ultimately families, the very national being. The criminal normative act abrogated caused the death of thousands of women, many of them mothers of two-to-four children. "The application of this disastrous demographic policy in conditions of a shortage of medicines, medical outfit and medical personnel, in the absence of inadequate microclimate caused the highest maternal death rate in Europe, because of abortions," declares Dr. Bogdan Marinescu, director of the Giulesti Maternity House in Bucharest. Statistics for Bucharest City in the last eight years in connection with the number of women who died between 1981-1989 as a result of involvement caused by abortion stands at almost 1400. Their number is by far bigger though, as, when in agony many of them were transferred to die in other medical departments.

"A great many crippled babies were born," stated the same doctor, "because of malnutrition, shortage of proteins in mothers' nutrition, on the one hand, and because of failed abortion on the other hand, which created great socioeconomic problems both for the respective families and for the society. Besides crippled children born in these decades, there were the immature ones, that sometimes top the proportion of ten percent. The infant death rate was cosmeticated as the deceased babies who weighed up to 1,000 grams, on delivery, were reported as abortions in the official statistics.

Iliescu Speaks on International Solidarity

LD2912124289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1159 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—The international solidarity is "a great satisfaction" to the Romanian people. They perceive a deep sympathy and a broad solidarity. "The spontaneous and strong solidarity of other peoples in Europe and throughout the world is an encouragement. In these days in particular, it gives our people a lift." Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the Romanian National Salvation Front, affirmed this in Bucharest this morning to ADN and other GDR media. The text of the interview was as follows:

Question: What are the main tasks now facing the new leadership?

Reply: We have two urgent problems. First, our power has just been established, and there is the question of normalizing all those areas which were until recently blocked. The economy, social life as a whole, and human life must be normalized. Second, we have a mandate for a relatively short period of time—4-5 months—in which we must prepare the foundation of all elements of state power. Also before us is the organization of the coming elections. This requires elaborating a draft constitution, an electoral law, and all measures which are necessary for the execution of the election, which are, from now on, to form a basis for the new power. The principles were already mapped out in the statement to the country. We intend that the general consensus, which was the determining idea in the struggle, should continue to play a dominant role in all the structures which we will create. This idea should bring about the unification of all creative forces in the service of a single goal—that is, the will of all the people. We want to remove all extreme manifestations, irrespective of their nature. We do not want to replace one extreme with another. We do not intend to pass on from the removal of some areas to the removal of the next. We all desire this, because all social forces are interested in ensuring the progress of the contry and the well-being of the people.

Iliescu today received GDR Ambassador Dr. Herbert Plaschke for a talk, during which the latter conveyed greetings from Acting State Council Chairman Professor Manfred Gerlach, and Prime Minister Dr. Hans Modrow.

Mazilu Interviewed on Libyan Relations

LD2912181489 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] The first vice chairan of the People's Committee for National Salvation in Romania, Dumitru Mazilu, has emphasized his country's interest in strengthening and developing relations with the Great Jamahiriyah.

In a statement to JANA's correspondent in Romania, Dumitru Mazilu expressed his gratitude and appreciation of the Great Jamahiriyah's stance toward the people's revolution in Romania.

The first deputy chairman of the People's Committee for National Salvation in Romania renewed his country's denial of the rumors spread concerning the participation of Arabs against the popular revolution. He emphasized the sources of these rumors are gangs of Zionist terrorists.

In his statement Dumitru Mazilu confirmed that the Romanian people, who christened its freedom with blood, have set up people's committees and hold the power.

Soviet Moldavians Visit; Address Reunification

PM0501101490 Paris LE MONDE in French
3 Jan 90 pp 1,5

[Patrice Claude dispatch: "Soviet Moldavians Express Solidarity With Those In Romania"]

[Text] Iasi (Romania)—"Reunification!" The taboo word, possibly the most dangerous slogan in these revolutionary hours when a whole people seeks a future, was shouted into a microphone on 24 December 1989 on the balcony of the temporary council building in Iasi, capital of Moldavia.

Reunification, union, unity of all Moldavians. Some 20 km from the Soviet border, the word has caught on and some young people, among the thousands of celebrating citizens who had come to applaud their new municipal leaders, took up the slogan. Who dared to speak it? "Not me," Yuriy Roska [name as published], deputy chairman of the Soviet Union's Moldavian People's Front said later. "It was not us either." according to Vasiliy Nastase and Anatol Salaru [names as published], both members of the delegation from Bessarabia (Soviet Moldavia) sent to Iasi "with 48 freight cars of emergency medical and food aid for our Romanian brothers." Basically, the identity of the guilty party does not matter.

The "criminal pact" between Molotov and Ribbentrop signed in 1939 divided the Moldavian people and that is the whole problem. "We were all at work," according to Dan Petrescu, dissident Iasi writer who was briefly a member of the local provisional council and who is to be appointed deputy culture minister in the provisional government in Bucharest. "Various speakers had followed one after the other for hours on the council building's balcony when we, who were inside the building, were astonished to hear that slogan. As if he had received an electric shock, the chairman of the council (Professor Doru Tzigau) leapt up and shouted: 'Who shouted that? They are mad! They will get themselves shot! They must be stopped immediately!'"

Dan Petrescu continued: "I then went out and discovered that the Soviet Moldavian delegation was playing through the loudspeakers a recording of one of their big demonstrations, with slogans and everything else. We stopped it. I explained to them that this was not really the right time to demand the Moldavians' reunification. I explained that we must be patient, that we had other urgent problems to solve. I explained that it could be very dangerous because we do not know how Moscow might react to such a provocation."

Attempt at Exploitation

A flashback: On 27 August, in Kishinev, capital of Soviet Moldavia, during a huge demonstration—"500,000 people" according to Vasile Nastase, a journalist on Kishinev's MOLODEZH MOLDAVII—the Moldavians of Bessarabia, who make up around three fourths of that republic's 4.2 million inhabitants (Footnote) (But there are apparently also 800,000 Moldavians scattered throughout the Ukraine), for the first time publicly demanded the restoration of their culture, their alphabet—Latin and not Cyrillic, which they have been forced to use—and their language, in other words Romanian.

The Moldavian People's Front, which was officially registered as a cultural association on 20 May and which apparently already has around 50 supporters elected to the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow, had thus successfully given its first show of strength.

"Since then, things have begun to move in the right direction," Vasile admitted. But on 22 December, a few hours after Ceausescu's fall, the Soviet front staged a new demonstration of solidarity with its "Romanian brothers" in Victory Square in Kishinev, "Romania's second city after Bucharest," Anatol Salaru said seriously. There, according to him, the first slogans for "the unification of all Romanians" were chanted by the crowd, estimated at 20,000 people.

The council of ministers of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic held an immediate meeting. Emergency government aid was decided. It did not matter that Romanian Moldavia, where no shot was fired and nobody was injured, has only structural needs, like the rest of Romania. A decision was made to send aid, it was to be sent on Sunday and accompanied, among others, by a Moldavian People's Front delegation. On the specified day, the Kishinev local authorities, at a new solidarity meeting, again tried to exploit the movement and party First Secretary Luchivshi [name as published] publicly expressed his "support for the Romanian revolution."

On Monday 1 January, the Soviet Moldavian delegates were still in Iasi. They distributed badges showing a bison's head—the Moldavian national emblem—colored red "because of the blood which was shed," and surrounded with a red star. "To condemn the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which separated us from our brothers," Anatol explained. The movement has been launched.

"The Borders Are Fictional"

"In Bucharest," he added, "an association is being formed to maintain contact among all Romanians in the world." In Iasi, militant poems in favor of unification are awaiting permission to be printed in the local revolutionary newspapers.

If Soviet Bessarabia were to be integrated into Romania, the latter's area would be increased by around one fifth. Is that reasonable? "I reminded them of the existence of the Helsinki Accords which guarantee the inviolability of borders," Dan Petrescu added; "I hope they understood."

"No," the Kishinev special envoys stated, "the present borders are fictional. We do not intend to arm ourselves and remove them by violence. But if the USSR persists in wishing to maintain them, there will certainly be a bloodbath in Moldavia..."

Foreign Minister Receives Foreign Envoys

AU0401205690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Calls on Romania's Foreign Minister"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/1/1990—On January 4 Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac had separate interviews with the ambassadors of Spain, Turkey, the German Democratic Republic, and Cuba. On the respective occasions, questions were approached related to Romania's bilateral links with the respective countries.

He also received the ambassador of the State of Palestine who, on behalf of the PLO leadership, conveyed the Palestinian people's feelings of solidarity with the cause of the Romanian people's revolution. On behalf of the Palestinian embassy and students in Romania a cheque worth 10,000 dollars in the "Freedom 1989" account was handed over.

The same day, the Romanian Foreign Minister received Frank Wolf, member of the US Congress, who was accompanied by the US ambassador accredited in Bucharest, as well as by a delegation of the "Helsinki" International Federation for Human Rights, led by its president, Prince Schwarzenberg.

Italian Ambassador Expresses Support in Address

AU0501084090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1857 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Italian Ambassador's Address on the Romanian Free Television"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/1/1990—Speaking on the Romanian Free Television on 4 January, Italy's ambassador in Bucharest, Luigi Amaduzzi, expressed, on behalf of the Italian Government and people, their solidarity with and material support to the Romanian revolution. This solidarity is but natural, he stressed, since Italy and Romania are sister countries, linked by a centuries-old friendship.

Approaching aspects concerning the future of bilateral links, he said inter alia: "The Italian Government assures you that it will be by Romania's side in all the problems that will confront it so that it should prosper and resume its dialogue with the other European countries."

FRG's Lambsdorff Favors Economic Aid

LD0401234690 Hamburg DPA in German 2313 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest (DPA)—Free Democratic Party [FDP] Chairman Count Otto Lambsdorff has spoken in favor of economic aid from the Federal Republic and the European Community for Romania. On arrival this evening in Bucharest the FDP politician said that this aid can also make a contribution so that the ethnic German population in Romania does not completely disappear.

Lambsdorff said that one unfortunate side effect of the Federal Government's policy, which is correct in principle, of welcoming all emigrants from Romania, is the disappearance of a centuries-old culture and tradition. It would be wrong to create, with targetted economic aid, islands of prosperity for the 230,000 ethnic German Romanians. But an improvement in the general situation in Romania could contribute toward making some ethnic German Romanians think twice about their decision to emigrate. According to information from German-Romanian circles, about 80 percent of the ethnic Germans in Romania wish to leave the country. But Count Lambsdorff emphasized that it must remain the free decision of the people whether to stay or to come to Germany.

The visit to Romania is also a demonstration of the respect of the German liberals for the successful ending of the Romanians' struggle for freedom, said Lambsdorff, who is the first German politician to visit the country after the coup d'etat. The goal of his 1-day visit is to get information about where the Federal Republic and the European Community can and should help. The Federal Republic ought not undertake too much in its possibilities of giving aid for the continuation of the reform processes in East Europe but, in his opinion, will do everything in order to further advance the present development. Political and economic reforms are closely linked and necessitate each other.

The FDP chairman will meet the new Romanian economics minister tomorrow as well as representatives of the German-Romanians and other leading representatives of the new leadership.

Kiraly Meets Hungarian Parliamentary Delegation

AU0501083490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Romanian-Hungarian Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/1/1990—On Thursday, 4 January, the vice-president of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], Karol Kiraly, met with a parliamentary delegation of the Hungarian Republic approaching a number of aspects related to the revolutionary transformations in Romania, the modalities of cooperation on multiple planes between the legislative bodies of the two countries. The talks passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Present were Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign affairs minister, and Hungary's ambassador in Bucharest, Pal Szuts.

Hungarian President Invites Iliescu To Visit

AU0401122490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The Hungarian interim President Matyas Szuros has sent an invitation—through the Romanian ambassador in Budapest—to the president of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] of Romania, Ion Iliescu, to visit Hungary.

Speech by Hungarian Free Democratic Party Leader

AU0501084290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1853 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Laszlo Rayk: Hungary Has Identified Itself with the Romanian Revolution"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/1/1990—Speaking on the Romanian Free Television on 4 January, Laszlo Rayk, member of the Leading Council of the Free Democratic Party of Hungary, hailed the revolution in Romania on behalf of that party's members.

Hailing the new state leadership of Romania, Laszlo Rayk noted that it was for the first time that links of real mutual confidence were established between the two countries. We would like to already assure the Romanian people that, after the elections in Hungary, the new government would observe Romania's territorial integrity, he said adding: Our aim is not to alter frontiers but to turn them into mere lines on the world's map, as it happened in Western Europe. This calls for full guarantees for the rights of the nationalities, including cultural rights, the rights regarding the learning system and the political life, just as the right to an unhampered traffic of individuals. We know that we still have a lot to do to ensure the rights of the Romanian minority in Hungary. An authentic democracy will be established in both Hungary and Romania when the minorities, fully free, feel at home in their homeland.

Militaru, Hungarian Defense Representative Meet

LD0501093190 Budapest MTI in English 0736 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, January 5 (MTI)—Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, head of the Defence Ministry Press Department, paid a visit to Bucharest on Thursday and presented a message from Defence Minister Ferenc Karpati to Army General Nicolae Militaru, Romanian minister of defence.

During the day, Colonel-General Vasile Ionel, chief of staff and first deputy minister of defence, met Gyorgy Keleti. Present was Colonel Sandor Aradi, military and air attache at the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest.

Changes in Romanian Media Since 22 Dec

WA0401221789

[Editorial Report] FBIS has observed the following changes in Romanian media since 22 December 1989:

According to the Yugoslav press agency TANJUG, Radio Timisoara began broadcasting a program entitled "Radio Free Timisoara- Romania" in Serbo-Croatian on 23 December. TANJUG stated that "a few years ago, all programs of Radio Timisoara, and with them broadcasts in Serbo-Croatian, were suspended. From that time onward, the whole broadcasting system in Romania was taken over by three stations of Radio Bucharest."

AGERPRES (Romanian Press Agency) was renamed on 2 January 1990 and now is known as ROMPRES. ROMPRES reporting supports the National Salvation Front.

In addition, three Romanian publications monitored by FBIS have assumed new names as well as reworked their mastheads. All three are supporting the National Salvation Front. they are:

1. ADEVARUL (truth) was formerly titled SCINTEIA (spark). It is now published by Combinatul Casa Scinteia Bucharest. The headline is the same size, although in blue rather than black, and the communist emblems surrounding the former headline are gone. the caption now reads: "political and social daily" (SCINTEIA's caption was "organ of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party").

2. ROMANIA LIBERA (free Romania), which retained its name, is still published by Combinatul Poligrafic Bucharest. The headline is the same size, although printed in red rather than black, and the communist emblems are no longer present. The caption now reads: "daily of all patriotic and democratic forces of Romania," instead of "daily of the National Council of the Social Democratic Unity Front."

3. The weekly journal LUMEA (world) is now entitled LUMEA AZI (The World Today). The caption is unchanged and reads "foreign policy weekly." It is published by Combinatul Poligrafic in Bucharest.

Although the masthead and caption are similar, LUMEA AZI now appears as a 16-page newspaper rather than in journal format.

THE WORLD TODAY Weekly Reviewed

AU2912182189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1446 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—The first issue of the Romanian foreign policy weekly THE WORLD TODAY came out on 28 December in a new series. The editorial is headlined "Through the Force of the Will of Freedom, Romania Regained Its Place in the European and World Civilization". The weekly runs the communique to the country of the Council of the National Salvation Front the platform-programme of the new body of state power in Romania.

Articles, commentaries, notes printed under a general headline "For a New, Democratic and Dignified Romania" are headlined "The Spirit of Time", "Stay Upright, Mother", "Chrysanthemums and Bullets", "The Youths Have Not Yielded Up", "The Most Beautiful Christmas Tree".

Under the headline "The Whole World Is by Our Side" the weekly runs accounts, viewpoints, assessments in the foreign press on Romania's liberation from Ceausescu's yoke.

The weekly carries excerpts from articles and commentaries about the real image of the last twenty-five years under Ceausescu, that were censored by the Romanian press.

Communique of Writers Union Viewed

AU2912074689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2336 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—Gathered after a long period when they could not exercise their attributions and obligations according to their statute, the Executive Board of the Writers' Union endorsed several decisions in their 28 December meeting.

A provisional Executive Board was elected to lead the union made up of Mircea Dinescu as president, Ana Blandiana, Dan Desliu, Stefan Augustin Doinas, Domokos Geza, Octavian Paler, Eugen Simion and Stelian Tanase.

Dan Haulica was designated spokesman of the Writers' Union in matters of foreign relations.

The management board decided to call the Writers' National Congress as soon as possible, and took due measures to prepare it.

It was established that the young writers who were hindered to become members of the Writers' Union be validated as full members of the union by observing the democratic procedure under the Statute.

The associations are recommended to convene general meetings of their members as soon as possible to designate the Provisional Steering Committees.

The principal working commissions of the Writers' Union were reactivated.

The board instructed the Provisional Steering Committee to advance proposals to the next meeting regarding the literary reviews, the publishing house of the Writers' Union and the union's activity.

The board's meeting was attended by several representatives of young writers from Timisoara and Bucharest.

Conditions in Sibiu After Fighting

AU2912081589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2353 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Cultural Sibiu After Fierce Fighting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—Sibiu, an ancient centre to the name of which are linked the printing in Romanian of the Lutheran Catechism, the "ASTRA" review, so many other facts of national culture and feeling, bears today, just like other hero cities in Romania, the traces of the fierce battles for the victory of the revolution.

The Sibiu people no longer have a theater. It is one of the great losses of the city that was set up in 1192, the place of so many historical monuments and buildings specific to the Transylvanian architecture. On the hot days of the revolution a big part of the theater was burned down, halls, workshops, stores, the cars were burned.

Standing proof of the fierce battles fought there are the architectural development in the city's central square, buildings from the Baroque and Renaissance periods, such as, among other structures, the valuable Heller House, a monument of classical architecture from the 16th century. By a genuine miracle the Brukenthal Museum, the city's cultural pride, has been left untouched.

Worth mentioning is the fact that the plans for the restoration and preservation of those monuments had been left unheeded for years in the safes of the former dictator's son. In 1987 Nicu Ceausescu had settled in Sibiu, where he aggregated the party and state leading offices.

Thousands of 'Terrorists' Laid Down Arms

AU2912181989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1626 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—The terrorists in the Romanian capital city, Bucharest, who laid down their arms Thursday, December 28, 17:00 hours (local time) are counted in thousands, said Cazimir Ionescu, vice-president of the National Salvation Front Council.

Answering questions during a press conference with foreign journalists in Romania Cazimir Ionescu said roughly 100 terrorists are still at large in Bucharest.

Opinion Poll Favors Economic Reorganization

AU3012214989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1727 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Opinion Polls..." —AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—It is already known that in the traditional poll taken by Yugoslav journalists it is the Romanian revolution, that put an end to the Ceausescu dictatorship, which is viewed as the foremost world political event of the year.

In Romania such polls have long been forbidden. With the exception, maybe, of narrow sports polls. These days experts of Bucharests' Reresearch Centre for Youth Affairs have taken a poll on the recent developments in Romania and their prospects.

Answers were supplied by 232 members of patriotic organizations and civic teams that control the traffic in various key points in the capital city.

Asked if they know the goals of the programme of the Council of the National Salvation Front, 56 percent answered they knew "all of them", 37 percent kenw "some of them", and only seven percent answered "no".

On the top priorities, 51 percent said economic reorganization should take precedence, 25 percent said it was the living standard that should be the main concern, with 21 percent saying that it was political reorganization that ought to come first.

Finally, answering to the question of what the future should bring, the overwhelming majority (90-97 percent) said they hoped everybody would work better, people would be judged by what they do, not by what they say, and that children would have a better life than their parents. There was moderate optimism in the answers to the question "will social inequalities disappear?" With 73 percent saying "yes", 9 percent "no", and 19 percent answered "I don't know".

The main conclusions to this poll are the people's support for the programme of the new power body, the NSF [National Salvation Front], and the high hopes they pin on it.

Former King Comments on Elections, Other Issues

AU3012143889 Paris AFP in English 1414 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Geneva, Dec 30 (AFP)—Romania's former King Micheal held his country's new leadership Saturday to their pledge of elections and asked all Romanians to "swear" that the nation would never again be governed by dictators.

In a New Year's Day message from his home in exile near here, King Micheal said: "The provisional government has promised free elections. We, all Romanians, take note of this promise.

"We shall be vigilant and make sure that these promises are kept."

Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman meanwhile said in an interview published in France Saturday that he hoped his new cabinet would not "go back" on the promise of April elections made by the National Salvation Front (NSF).

While the king also called on Romanians to "swear that never again will our country be governed by dictators or extremists", Mr. Roman stressed the need to get the economy moving first.

"The issue we have to tackle is very simple: to get the economy going, to produce," Mr. Roman told the French daily LA CROIX.

"One cannot dispossess people of the political initiative, since that is the very substance of the revolution. But the structures must operate. The work has to be done.

"My job is to bring about free elections. But if people are not free in their material life, what good is such a poll?" he asked.

The hastily formed NSF [National Salvation Front] made the election pledge, Mr. Roman added, "the very night after the fall of (Nicolae Ceausescu)", the dictator ousted on December 22 and executed on Christmas Day.

"We will try not to go back on it. But perhaps a two-step process should be chosen." He did not spell out the stages he had in mind.

Mr. Roman said that the Front, which has appointed the government and given itself an executive committee, represents a "new form of political pluralism. We have never known such a thing. Neither has the West."

He added that the emergence of aspirant political parties was "normal" but said that "what I find interesting is that most of these parties have rallied to the NSF programme".

Asked whether particular forces might 'confiscate' the revolution to their own advantage, Mr. Roman declared that the "definitive" decision was "no longer to accept the dignitaries who served Ceausescu."

"However," he added, "among those who lived alongside him, there are some very competent people. We need them.

"As for the students, they have in no way been swept aside. Even before the NSF was expanded to take in the regions, six or seven of them were sitting in the original group."

In the longer term, Romania wanted "total economic, cultural and spiritual integration" with the rest of Europe, Mr. Petre said.

King Micheal, ousted in 1947 after seven years on the throne, who has said he would be ready to take some role in Romania if asked, thought that recent "tragic events" should "teach us that there is nothing more precious than individual liberty and the right to free speech in a sovereign and independent country".

Police Official Relates Ceausescus' Arrest

AU0501091690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2015 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Radio relay of Romanian television interview with Corneliu Petre, deputy chief of the General Police Inspectorate, in Bucharest on 3 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] In the next few minutes, we will present new details in connection with the capture of the odious pair of dictators in Romania—news presented this evening by Free Romanian Television.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] I am a militiamen who—on 22 December 1989, about an hour after the tyrants Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu left, or rather fled by helicopter—caught, detained, and guarded them up to the time of their execution.

[Moderator] For obvious reasons, the presentation of the facts will not be continued by the hero of this event. I asked Mr. Colonel Corneliu Petre, deputy chief of the General Police Inspectorate to present the details. We know when the two tyrants were caught—please continue.

[Petre] To begin with, I would like to state that the two tyrants were captured by the police, with the broad support of the citizens. From my presentation, it will become clear that citizens intervened at several points during the capture sequence.

After the television announced that the two tyrants had fled toward Dimbovita County, the county police department received a telephone call that the pair was driving on the highway in a red car. It was at that time that two policemen from that unit, without waiting for other orders, got into the first available police car—and that was a radar car used for traffic control—and drove toward the special steel combine. After a brief investigation, seeing no movement there, they sped off toward the city of Cimpulung. Reaching the building of the city's Seeds Center, where several cars were parked, they asked the drivers whether they had noticed anything. The people were stupefied and scared. Nobody gave an answer. Given these circumstances, the policemen opened the gate of the Seeds Center and drove in. One policeman stayed in the car, while the other one went to check the offices. On his way, he met a woman, probably the unit's cleaning woman, and asked her: Are they here? The woman answered: Yes. The policeman continued his search of the offices and found them alone in a room of this building.

Promptly—and here one should appreciate the policeman's intelligence—he pretended to be their protector and said: Are you healthy? I came to help you. Please follow me and do exactly what I tell you. Then, he went with them to the police vehicle—which was a bit crowded, given the equipment placed in the car—got them inside, and drove toward Tirgoviste in order to deliver them to the county police headquarters. However, there were many, very many, people gathered in front of the special steels combine. Seeing the car—probably some people also saw the figures inside—the citizens thought that the policemen wanted to rescue the couple; of course, they had no way of knowing about the policemen's good intentions, who wanted to place the couple under arrest at the county police headquarters. The people, therefore, tried, but failed to forcefully stop the car. Several car owners—I would say, the more daring ones—jumped into their cars, pursued the police car, caught up with it, and bumped it from the left, from the right, and from behind.

At this point, the police driver—who wanted to prevent an act of revenge from ending the whole affair and who wanted to ensure that the legal procedure would take its due course in this case—took several sharp turns on side streets, with which he was very familiar, and lost his pursuers. Afterward, they left the city and drove on the highway that leads to Buftea. After some 35-40 km, having gotten rid of their pursuers, they saw a bunch of trees or saplings near a lake, parked the car there, covered it with branches so as not to be attacked, and remained there until approximatley 2200 hours [2000 GMT]. Making sure that everything was quiet, the policemen then drove the car with the two tyrants toward a nearby military unit. They reported to the commander that the two were inside, after which the command of that unit took custody of the pair. The Ceausescus were taken to a room and put under proper, secure, and strong guard; the two policemen stayed with the couple and ensured they were guarded until they handed them over to (?justice organs).

So, they were delivered to the military unit around 2230 hours [2030 GMT] on 22 December. Just a few hours after their arrival, the unit came under ground and air attack; however, the unit knew how to defend itself and repelled the attacks, which continued all night long and even through the following day.

[Moderator] It was attacked by terrorists....

[Petre] Yes, by terrorists....

[Moderator] ...by Ceausescu's specially trained army.

[Petre] Yes. They came under both ground and air attack. On 24 December, the unit was informed that it would be coming under gas attack. Preventive measures were taken, including for the protection of the couple. I would like to make a digression here. The two proved to be experts at handling gas masks, at least. Of course they did not do anything else, but they were pretty good at self-preservation and at handling the gas protection equipment.

During the night, out of fear that the building might be hit, the two were taken out and moved around in the vehicles of this military unit. They were taken outside the unit's perimeter, so as to ensure their security and integrity until their appearance before a court of justice.

[Moderator] So, these are the circumstances that preceded that trial, and that is why the trial took place at that time, [word indistinct], the law was applied, and justice, the people's justice was done. One did not dally with this trial, because the military unit was threatened, as you just said.

[Petre] I would like to digress a bit and refer to a period that preceded the events I just related. The two policemen, after they escaped from the crowd in front of the special steels combine, tried to withdraw to the county police headquarters. However, this was not possible, because this building was also surrounded by crowds, who thought that the Ceausescus were being held there and wanted to punish them on the spot for the suffering they had been subjected to for years on end. Certain damage was done to that building, although the two were not there; they were, as I just said, in a completely different place, some several tens of kilometers away.

It is worthwhile mentioning two aspects which show the couple's attitude toward the people, toward our country's population. At one point, one of the policemen who was guarding the couple asked Ceausescu why he had starved the people for so long and deprived them of bread and butter. He did not answer. But, as we saw at the trial, with the same kind of cheekiness displayed there, she said: Did you ever see a Romanian who starved in this country? And, another thing. After a while—when some time had passed, all kinds of thoughts were crossing the policemen's minds as they looked at the two people who had succeeded in bringing the people of Romania to this desolate state of affairs—one of the two asked him: Why did you cut down the television program to only 2 hours, all of it devoted to praise for you? The answer was: So as not to tire the working people. So that the working people should rest properly and be fit for work the following day. [end recording]

Ceausescus' Private Train; More Wealth Revealed

AU0401225490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1841 GMT 4 Jan 90

["That Darned Train"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/1/1990—From television and radio broadcasts and from items in the newspapers a stupefied Romanian nation learns of the dictator's apparently boundless wealth. The incomparable opulence of the presidential palaces in Bucharest (Primaverii, Cotroceni, the House of the Republic), Snagov, Sinaia and Neptun, the ostentatious display of abundance, drawn from the sweat of a people whose "most beloved son" the satrap pretended to be are proof of his ridiculous upstartism, of his matchless bad taste. A presidential airplane, presidential helicopters, yachts and automobiles and many, many others made the "dowry" of the devilish couple, of the despots that drowned their people in blood in order to maintain their privileges. Here is a news item on another "means of transport" that Ceausescu benefited from.

The "Presidential" train is another concoction of their sick minds. For this true steel monster to be assembled hundreds of millions of lei were spent, materials, parts, devices and equipment were imported, says "TINERETUL LIBER" of January 4, 1990. The car making enterprise in Arad was given a blank checque to buy the most expensive equipment providing for maximum comfort. Companies such as Rolls Royce (diesel engines), Ideal Standard (sanitary installations), Berkel Schargen (kitchen facilities), Motorola (electronic transmission devices), Beklawat Ciclone (windows and blinds) supplied the facilities needed for that train and the list could go on and on.

Securitate Said Taking Refuge in Israel

LD0301103890 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0944 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Kuwait, 3 Jan (KUNA)—A leading figure of the Romanian National Salvation Front, in a press interview published here today, said many Romanian secret police members [Securitate], followers of former President Nicolae Ceausescu, have managed to leave Romania secretly during the last days and take refuge in Israeli embassies in European countries, asking for political asylum.

In his interview with the Kuwaiti 'AL-RA'Y AL-AM', the Romanian leader said Israel recently informed Romania that it is currently reviewing these requests for political asylum. He revealed a number of the Romanian secret police, who are Jewish, have arrived in the Israeli entity and were welcomed as new emigrants. He stressed that one of the secret police leaders, who was recently arrested, revealed to his interrogators that he and a number of his colleagues received an invitation to go to Austria to hold a secret meeting with leaders of Israeli intelligence units working in East European countries, including Romania.

The Romanian official stated this detained leader confirmed that he had a training course in the Israeli entity and that 13 senior Israeli intelligence officers are leading the secret Mosad units in East Europe.

More Information Provided on Low Foreign Debt

AU0401164190 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 4 Jan 90 p 16

[Excerpt] Basel—Over the 12 months until mid-1989 Romania paid back loans amounting to approximately one billion (about 11.9 billion schillings) to Western banks. By the end of June 1989, the liabilities of the economically ruined country amounted to only $344 million, according to a statistic of the Bank for Interna-

tional Settlements (BIZ). Romania's assets in the West amounted to $1.06 billion at that time.

With the exception of Albania, which has used loans amounting to $151 million, Romania is thus the East European country with the lowest foreign debt. [passage omitted]

Red Cross Estimates 5,000-7,000 Died in Revolution

AU0401091290 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Marion Lorenz report from Geneva]

[Excerpt] We cannot yet make any concrete statements on the exact figure of casualties in Romania, but 60,000 clearly seems too high, according to Joerg Bischof, spokesman of the International Red Cross Committee in Geneva. In the 2 weeks since the overthrow of Ceausescu's dictatorship more than 50 International Red Cross representatives have been able to visit practically all larger hospitals in Romania. In no hospital were more than 500 injured found, it is said in Geneva. Experienced Red Cross experts use the number of injured as a guide to estimate the number of dead.

From the conflict in Lebanon we know that in street battles the number of injured is two to three times higher than the number of dead, International Red Cross Committee spokesman Bischof says. However, massacres similar to the ones carried out by the Securitate members in Timisoara distort such figures. The president of the League, which is the umbrella organization of the national Red Cross societies, Paul Stenback, thinks that a realistic figure for the number of people who have died in the Romanian revolution lies somewhere between 5,000 to 7,000. [passage omitted]

Extraordinary Session of Orthodox Church Synod

AU0401170390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1218 GMT 4 Jan 90

["An Extraordinary Meeting of the Romanian Orthodox Church Synod"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/1/1990—On Wednesday 3 January the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church met in an extraordinary session in Bucharest. His beatitude Patriarch Teoctist opened the session which he assessed as historic saying that it was for the first time that the Holy Synod was free to hold a meeting, to state its canonical ecclesiastical autonomy which could not be achieved before. "Our duty," he said, "is to concentrate on our souls, on the souls of youths tarnished by an atheistic propaganda beyond compare in history that stifled the freedom of thought, the freedom of expression. It is the task of the Church to assist the spiritual rebirth of the people."

As well as discussing a programme to relaunch a true religious life, the Holy Synod must also solve the question of vacancies—e.g. that of the metropolitan of Moldavia.

NOVOSTI Chief on Democracy

AU0401171390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1244 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Vyacheslav Samoshkin: "Romania Is at the Head of Democracy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/1/1990—The chief of the Soviet news agency "NOVOSTI" from the office in Romania states in an interview with "TINERETUL LIBER" of 4 January 1990: "Making a retrospect of the events in East Europe I can tell you like the Bible says: The last will be the first. Whereas Romania has lagged behind so far as regards democracy now it is at its head. Whereas till December 1989 I heard the Romanians pinned their hopes on perestroika and in Gorbachev, now we in the Soviet Union clap our eyes on Bucharest and Romania. Now you are in the vanguard of democracy and liberties."

Vyacheslav Samoshkin is a good connoisseur of Romanian realities. He studied in Romania and has worked in Bucharest for 21 years.

Proposal To Award Nobel Peace Prize to People

AU0501083890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1847 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Symbolic Proposals"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/1/1990—The readers of the Spanish newspaper "LA VANGUARDIA" (Barcelona) have suggested—as that daily's special envoy to Romania Ricardo Estariol stated—that the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize be awarded to the Romanian people for their heroic fight, for their great victory, with deep-going implications in the European and world political life. The proposal is another illustration of the respect and admiration for the heroism of the victorious Romanian people, stresses the political and social paper "ADEVARUL".

At the same time, the initiative that the Nobel Peace Prize for this year should be awarded to the heroic Romanian youth has gained ground among the foreign press correspondents accredited to Romania, the special envoys of international news agencies and radio and television commentators. Arguments in favour of this proposal are contained in an appeal initiated by Romanian journalist Carol Roman, permanent press correspondent of Turkish newspapers "SABAH" and "TERCUMAN," author of several books edited together with the Nobel Foundation. In connection with the arguments in the appeal, daily "TINERETUL LIBER" highlights in its 4 January issue: "The Romanian revolution that has brought freedom and democracy was achieved, to the greatest extent, by the Romanian youths that lived under the tyranny, in misery and oppression. Most of the victims fell from among their ranks."

So far the appeal has been signed by journalists of dailies "SUDOUST" (Bordeaux) and "LE REPUBLICAN LORAIN" (Metz), France, "AKAHATA" (Japan), "SIPAPRESS" international agency, of the news agencies of Poland and Bangladesh, of Radio-Italy, of a number of periodicals of the Moldavian SSR.

Zagreb Previews Shevardnadze's Romania Visit

LD0501154290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Soviet Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrives tomorrow in Bucharest. Milika Sundic comments on changes in Romania and Soviet-Romanian relations.

[Sundic] Tomorrow's visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Romania will open up a new chapter in relations between the two countries. Everyone knows that relations between Moscow and Bucharest have been cold for years, and of course Romania was not the only guilty party in this, particularly not during the Brezhnev's rule. However, following the downfall of Ceausescu's regime and the USSR's friendly attitude toward the changes in Romania, all the necessary preconditions have been created for the two countries to bring an end to whatever was not good in their reciprocal relations, not only in the ideological, but also in the military-political sphere.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union is exceptionally important for the stabilization of internal conditions in Romania and for its economic recovery. Romania can safely count on the USSR's full support, particularly in its present and future efforts to involve itself as quickly as possible in the democratic processes in Europe and to democratize itself. The contacts the new Romanian leadership has had in the past few days with certain European countries, primarily Yugoslavia, Hungary, France, and now the USSR as well, indicate Romania is aware of the importance of its presence in Europe and in the world and of the openness of its borders with its neighbors. The latter implies a completely new attitude toward the national minorities which live in Romania because this is a precondition for its internal stability and good relations with neighboring countries. Perhaps the USSR will not be able, like other countries to participate in Romania's economic recovery, at least not to the necessary extent, but Romania can certainly count on what is equally important for it, that is the stability of relations with the USSR. Even if Romania leaves the Warsaw Treaty now or in the future, this, as things stand at the moment, will not have a negative effect on its relations with Moscow, and still less with other East European countries.

What Romania's new leadership, either the present one or some future leadership, should not do is to fuel in any way those forces in the USSR which are against perestroyka and glasnost, or the efforts of Mikhail Gorbachev to pull the USSR out of its economic backwardness. Certain phenomena in the GDR, for example, the revival of neo-Nazism, can only slow the process of democratization in that country and strengthen doubts in the USSR over the changes in the GDR. If something similar were to arise in Romania regarding the USSR, this could have unforseeable consequences for bilateral relations and on internal trends in the USSR itself. We have to believe, however, that nothing like that will happen, or rather that Romania will successfully overcome the present difficulties without further internal upheavals which could pose a threat to the gains in settling accounts with the Ceausescu regime and with its remnants. In the final analysis, Moscow has obligated the new Romanian leadership by supporting it and refraining from any interference in Romania's internal affairs even at the point when everything was uncertain and when an offer was made to it to intervene militarily in Romania.

Serbian Central Committee Members Named

AU0201145990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Members of the Central Committee"]

[Text] The total number of people who voted for members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia is 1,213. There have been 7 invalid ballots.

The following people have been elected into the new Central Committee: Aleksandar Aleksic (1,045), Dragan Aleksic (1,003), Miladin Aleksic (970), Snezana Aleksic (1,014), Gojko Andjelic (1,929) [figure as published], Zivorad Andjelkovic (937), Zoran Andjelkovic (1,065), Radmila Andjelkovic (1,087), Milos Asanin (959), Stevan Baljosevic (985), Mileta Besermeni (938), Dzevdet Binaku (928), Dobrosav Bjeletic (1,047), Radmilo Bogdanovic (1,081), Slavisa Bozinovic (926), Milena Bosan (985), Milan Boskovic (962), Miroslav Boskovic (977), Radomir Brajkovic (976), Nebojsa Brankovic (942), Slavica Brdarac (1,013), Remzi Bunjaku (922), Radenko Vasilic (972), Boban Veljkovic (958), Gojko Veselinovic (968), Sibilo Vlajkovic (927), Ratomir Vico (1,099), Budimir Vujovic (961), Sanja Vukojevic (1,009), Irena Gabric-Molnar (1,006), Jon George (986), Dragan Gocic (922), Slobodanka Gruden (1,096), Dusan Divjak (952), Petar Dikanovic (877), Borivoje Dimitrijevic (933), Zuzana Dobo (997), Miodrag Dragosavac (939), Slobodan Dugalic (1,000), Altene Duraku (949), Slavoljub Djokic (1,011), Slavko Djordjevic (1,012), Djordje Djukic (1,033), Tode Djuranovic (950), Viseslav Zivanovic (944), Predrag Zivanovic (1,005), Dusan Zoric (977), Ljubisa Igic (961), Bora Ilic (1,002), Dragan Ilic (1,041), Milanka Icic (983), Momir Jaksic (1,057), Milorad Jaksic (985), Zoran Janackovic (984), Gosto Jankovic (919), Radenko Jankovic (960), Obrad Jelic (994), Vlajko Jovic (1,021), Branko Kalajankovic (900), Rados Karaklajic (980), Radosav Karic (1,001), Dusko Klisuric (917), Dragoljub Knezevic (1,008), Zvonko Knezevic (941), Dejan Kovacevic (1,011), Julijana Kojic (1,008), Vojislav Kocic (957), Ismet Krasnici (895), Ljubomir Krnjajic (922), Svetozar Krstic (1,006), Cviko Krunic (950), Vladan Kutlesic (971), Dragan Lakicevic (985), Dusan Latinovic (946), Miklos Lerik (930), Djordje Malovrazic (976), Marina Manojlovic (1,029), Mileta Medojevic (949), Nedeljko Magdalinovic (977), Bozidar Maksimovic (961), Ante

Maras (937), Svetlana Maric-Sentjakov (960), Dusan Markovic (1,002), Dragoljub Milanovic (994), Miodrag Milic (1,003), Dragutin Milovanovic (995), Miroslav Milojevic (1,034), Slobodan Milosevic (1,179), Milomir Minic (1,149), Zivorad Minovic (945), Zivojin Mitrovic (1,009), Svetlana Mitrovic (1,023), Miodrag Micic (969), Bajrus Morina (945), Milutin Mrkonjic (989), Djordje Nedeljkovic (958), Vladimir Ninkovic (951), Ljubomir Novakovic (952), Zoran Ognjenovic (1,021), Karolj Olah (956), Zivko Pavlovic (993), Milutin Pavlovic (969), Dragoljub Pajic (979), Zivota Pajic (960), Radivoje Popovic (981), Radivoje Paroski (934), Aleksandar Pejic (969), Milutin Peric (932), Vlajko Petkovic (1,028), Milenko Petrovic (1,059), Dejan Popovic (1,023), Milan Popovic (976), Mirjana Popovic (1,009), Slavko Popovic (985), Ivan Radic (945), Dusanka Radmilovic (1,021), Djura Radmilovic (902), Stanko Radmilovic (1,067), Slobodan Radovanovic (934), Borislav Radovic (994), Tomica Raicevic (1,047), Vojislav Rasovic (891), Milanka Repac (944), Nikola Ristic (965), Stojan Savic (971), Tomislav Sekulic (1,051), Milos Sekulovic (1,099), Ljubica Simakovic (944), Vojislav Simanovic (894), Istvan Sic (962), Lajos Sitas (921), Rados Smiljkovic (1,021), Zoran Sokolovic (1,129), Biljana Stajic (990), Toma Stanic (939), Stojadin Stevanovic (927), Branko Stevanovic (929), Dobrila Stefanovic (968), Nikola Stojanov (931), Gordana Stojanovic (995), Zivojin Stojanovic (905), Slavko Stojanovic (923), Stevan Stojanovic (910), Branislav Tiodorovic (929), Dusan Todorovic (951), Spasoje Todorovic (929), Momcilo Trajkovic (1,014), Bogdan Trifunovic (1,146), Petar Trifunovic (912), Merita Cerimi (896), Radivoje Filipovic (902), Tahir Hasanovic (935), Jasmina Hasimbegovic (914), Dusan Celic (947), Jasmina Sparavalo (964), and Vladimir Stambuk (983).

Reportage on LCY Central Committee Plenum

26 Dec Proceedings

LD2712112189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, conveying the feelings of the entire membership and of the country's broadest democratic public, expresses solidarity with the just struggle of the friendly Romanian people and supports all the efforts of the National Salvation Council so that in Romania—after the long years of dictatorship—peace, freedom, and the equality of all citizens and members of all nationalities who live in Romania, whose rights have been trampled on and disputed, might prevail.

This is stressed in a special statement issued by the LCY Central Committee, the adoption of which began today's 28th plenum of the highest party forum.

The statement, which was read by Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stresses that the LCY gives full support to the Romanian people and its progressive and democratic forces so that they might overcome, independently and without interference from outside, today's difficult and tragic situation. [word indistinct] we will give full moral and political support to all of Romania's progressive and democratic forces which are fighting for a better and more humanitarian life and for a (?just) and free civil and national equality.

The LCY Central Committee will continue to advocate even more intensive good-neighborly [words indistinct]. In the framework of the overall democratization of social relations in Romania we expect a principled solution and comprehensive [words indistinct] of the position of parts of our nations who live in Romania as national minorities in keeping with civilization-orientated achievements and in the direction of the consistent recognition and implementation of their human and national rights.

Recalling that the pretext for the general people's uprising in Romania against the Ceausescu dictatorship was the regime of tyranny over the people who expressed en masse their legitimate and (?just) dissatisfaction, the statement expresses commiseration with Romanian citizens who became innocent victims and who included members of minorities there.

The people's uprising against the dictatorship, on this occasion, too, showed that justified national aspirations cannot be stopped by force.

Even before these events the LCY had communicated to the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] its clear and unambiguous disagreement with numerous aspects of internal policy in Romania, which acquired an increasingly pronounced undemocratic and authoritarian character, severed all (?ties) with the people, and became transformed into the dictatorship of one personality, his family, and clique.

In its statement, the LCY Central Committee explains that the recent RCP congress proceeded in the usual atmosphere of reiterating Stalinist policy and pompously glorifying the personality cult. In view of this, the head of the Yugoslav delegation decided to leave the congress and return home before the congress had ended. This was followed by criticism by the LCY Central Committee Presidium of the RCP's internal policy. On that occasion the LCY Central Committee Presidium again drew attention to the essential differences in the views held and the practice employed by the two parties. In response to the bloodshed in Timisoara, the LCY Central Committee Presidium passed a decision to halting cooperation with the RCP and to withdraw an invitation to an RCP delegation of the "usual level" to attend the LCY's 14th Extraordinary Congress.

"In order to provide full truth we stress that such an invitation was never extended to the now-toppled and former RCP secretary general," the statement stresses.

and goes on to say that neither the LCY Central Committee Presidium nor its president have responded to initiatives by Nicolae Ceausescu for meetings at the level of party leaders.

The LCY Central Committee places an obligation on its Presidium in line with this statement and standpoints expressed in it to continue to monitor developments in Romania, to invest efforts to implement these standpoints, and to create conditions for and decide on the forms of political cooperation with all progressive and democratic forces in Romania.

In its statement, the LCY Central Committee emphasizes the exceptional professional efforts by Yugoslav journalists, the press, radio, and television, all of whom courageously and in a dedicated manner, promptly and objectively provided both our own and the world public with full insight into the historic events which have changed the fate of Romania. Their efforts have been of enormous international importance.

In addition, the LCY Central Committee statement also condemns the U.S. aggression against sovereign and nonaligned Panama. This act is seen as a flagrant violation of international law and an example of interference in a sovereign country's internal affairs. We call on the United States to withdraw its troops from Panama immediately to allow the Panamanian people to freely and independently decide their own fate, the LCY Central Committee says in conclusion. [passage omitted]

Having stressed that he did not agree with the LCY Central Committee Presidium's proposal not to discuss the country's current political situation as a separate item on the agenda and to include it, instead, in the debate on congress documents, Mikelic went on to suggest that the issue should be given priority at the plenum, whose agenda is the most extensive of all postwar sessions of the LCY Central Committee. Instead of three planned separate sessions needed to discuss all the issues, it is suggested that they be amalgamated into one and the issues be discussed together with proposed congress documents.

He, therefore, did not agree with the proposal to amalgamate all the issues into one session and went on to stress that the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium wanted to downgrade the main problem and to create a false picture of the current political situation. It seems that the two bodies wish to hand over responsibility for this hot issue—cooked on the fire of opportunism—to the next party congress.

In view of the difficult situation in the country and our immediate neighborhood we cannot afford to waste 2 days at the plenum routinely discussing congress documents, Dragan Kalinic said, suggesting that the declaration of the 14th extraordinary party congress be included on the agenda as a priority item. Otherwise, the little reputation the LCY still enjoys may be threatened.

This, according to Kalinic, is one of the LCY Central Committee's most important sessions and it would be unacceptable if we are to be seen to be tolerating the bad situation in both the League of Communists [LC] and the country. He does not believe that the Central Committee can avoid considering the country's current political situation on this occasion but it must be careful to avoid the trap of unproductive discussions. [passage omitted]

Having repeated that the Central Committee is not the place for deciding the fate of citizens and the country and that the present session is crucial for the political fate of the party alone, Kalinic stressed that the system, whatever its name, must, above all, guarantee bread, jobs, and political and spiritual freedoms to its people. Without these, he warned, even the slightest belief in socialism as a democratic society will disappear. [passage omitted]

Dusan Dragosavac was also surprised at the proposed agenda. Recalling the initiative adopted by the Croat LC Central Committee that the LCY Central Committee should debate the country's current situation, he proposed that this topic should be the only point on the agenda of this LCY Central Committee plenum. Such a debate, in Dusan Dragosavac's view, would draw attention to the essential problems, of which the basic one is, as he said, what kind of socialism we want. This is why it would be better, Dragosavac said, if we set aside the congress documents on this occasion and conducted a debate on the country's situation. This is even more necessary since many of these documents are already out of date. [passage omitted]

This Central Committee should take a serious democratic step forward, a kind of "bypass" of fruitless confrontation, Enver Sehovic stressed.

The proposal of a declaration on the country's political situation with its content and ideological messages offers the possibility of such a "bypass". Supporting Dragan Kalinic, who said that the proposed declaration should be the "first and central point of the plenum," Sehovic criticized the LCY Central Committee president and Presidium for not suggesting a separate debate on this subject. The Croat Central Committee set in motion at the appropriate time the initiative for the plenum to debate the current political situation. What are the obstacles preventing the Central Committee from carrying out its functions in the direction of reform? Sekovic asked. It was proposed that this session be held before the republican congresses, but the Presidium hesitated about putting this point on the agenda, Sehovic said. [passage omitted]

Lambe Jovanovski was in favor of debate on the country's political situation. He stressed that workers find it sad to see products of their labour being halted at republican borders. One cannot live on documents

alone, he added. We will adopt them easily if we can agree on the causes and directions of the action to resolve the present situation.

Following Milica Stanivukovic's proposal to have the declaration of the LCY's 14th Extraordinary Congress be the first item on the agenda, Milan Pancevski stressed that the LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted a responsible attitude toward all the inititatives it received during the work on setting the agenda for today's session.

Following a vote, it was decided that the country's current political situation should not be discussed separately but within the framework of a debate on proposed congress documents. It was also decided that the proposed declaration should be considered immediately after the work report has been read. This indicates that the declaration is considered a synthesis of the LCY's reform resolutions contained in other congress documents.

Following a 1-hour debate, the plenum adopted a proposed agenda—a discussion of the congress documents. Introductory remarks on a report about the LCY Central Committee's work between the 13th and 14th congresses were made by Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The public debate on the draft report, Korosec said, has not fully achieved the set aims. Its level of criticism and self-criticism has not, to a sufficent measure, ensured that this document is to the greatest extent written by the membership and basic organizations. Nor has the debate sufficiently stimulated creative efforts in overcoming ossified dogmas of old socialism, sterotypes, and prejudices which are increasingly dividing us and contribute toward a deepening of interethnic gaps and conflicts. Therefore, we cannot be satisfied with the contribution made by the debate in eliminating the contents, methods, and ways of work in the LCY, which were critically assessed in the draft report, Korosec stressed.

In the highest number of comments, he recalled, demands are put forward for stricter assessments of the causes of the country's social and economic development, the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium for their insufficient and late action in connection with, it could be said, the failures to deal with the economy's problems, the adoption of ideopolitical stands on changes in the political system, and for slow and inefficient reactions to challenges raised by particular social junctures. Criticism is also made because of the increasingly frequent and prominent lack of unity among the LCY Central Committee members and their Presidium, which is also connected with the increasing independence of the republic and provincial leaderships of the LC and their increasingly direct confrontations. There have also been demands that at the 14th Extraordinary LCy Congress, nobody from the old leadership be put forward as a candidate. Almost nobody from the LCY Central Committee's present membership has appropriate political credibility.

Today, we must, Korosec said, also make a critical assessement of the LCY's accountability for society's overall situation, and the LCY leadership's accountability for the LCY's situation. The most objective assessment does not mean an attempt to grant amnesty from responsibility to anybody, but it is necessary to say that both the Central Committee and its Presidium worked under new and exceptionally complex conditions. Not only has the cadre rejuvenation of the Central Committee been carried out as far as the statutory rules allow—that is only five of the present numbers of the Presidium were elected at the 13th congress and both organs for some time worked with their incomplete cadres—but we have also witnessed huge public pressure because of the accumulation of unsolved problems, and a real campaign against individual members of both organs.

We have to overcome, Korosec believes, assessments of the events in the LCY under the influence of the theory of symmetry which leads to maintaining the status quo, preserving the existing situation, and this has also been overcome in international relations, Korosec said. Such an approach creates an impression of impotence and leads us further away from really dealing with problems. Instead of a concrete and deep analysis and assessments of differences, and on this basis, established similarities and common points, we are lost in a superficial equalization and indifferent assessments, which are actually sterile compromises. And this is one of the reasons why the Presidium has not given sufficient initiative in formulating the program of the integration of the LCY and the country. According to Korosec, a self-critical contribution to assessing one's own responsibility would mean accepting demands from the public debate that those who have been members of the LCY Central Committee should no longer be candidates for the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Expressions of a real impotence in halting negative trends and processes have contributed, he assessed, to the creation of an image—in public and in the LCY—according to which the LCY not only has no power to halt a reckless fall into the darkness and abyss of the Balkans' lower depths, but that the LCY itself also stimulates movements in that direction as one of the main areas of reforms.

The public debate on the draft report is a time of drastic exacerbation of the overall social, political, and economic situation, which has led the country to the threshold of division. We have not succeeded in creating conditions in which it would be easier to implement the possible objectives—which are already difficult and can be done only with painful cuts. At this juncture, it seems, we are even further from that. All this, with a deepening crisis and galloping inflation, contributes to a feeling of fear and uncertainty among people about present and future prospects. In such an atmosphere the Federal Executive Council [FEC] has prepared a program for halting inflation. This is a very courageous program which requires support, as well as a demand that the

economic policy be efficiently implemented with real measures and instruments. This program's success must be valued according to real economic effects, Stefan Korosec stressed.

The quality of coexistence is not improved by setting one's own dismissive views above all others, by banning the right to differing views, or limiting it to only those who essentially think the same way. It is helped even less by rash statments about fear of anyone when they are not accompanied by assessments of what encourages these phobias' existence in one's own work. The negation of the connections between all Yugoslav nationalisms and the issuing of ultimatums without predicting or showing regard for reactions in other environments is either political shortsightedness or, above all, constitutes dangerous playing with fire. All these are characteristics of the period in which the LC participated in transferring all problems in the area of intranational relations and in unsuccessful attempts at resolving them according to the laws of national logic.

All this, Korosec noted, is also reflected in the LCY membership structure and trends. If this trend of dwindling membership continues, it could easily happen that the LCY's total membership will soon be drastically reduced. Changes in the structure are even more worrying because it is the young and creative, free-thinking people unfettered by restraints who are leaving the party. If we do not turn back the course of these negative processes in society and in the LC, we could become a party of physically and ideologically aged Communists, uninventive, and inert, incapable of any serious creative breakthroughs and changes, Stefan Korosec said in his opening remarks on the report on the LCY Central Committee's work between the two congresses.

In the part of the debate on the proposed report on the LCY's activities, the work of the LCY Central Committee and its organs and bodies in the inter-congress period, Miomir Grbovic cautioned that the LC had neglected one very important fact, i.e. the weakening of the LC membership's social and class structure. The situation is so bad that there is a danger of the LC's disintegration and of its losing its class and social identity.

Since the 13th congress up to mid-1989, the LCY "lost" 207,000 members, or 10 percent of its entire membership, which now stands at "under 2 million," Grbovic specified. The most worrying aspect of all this is the fact that the LC is gorwing "old:" Only 15.8 percent of the total membership are young people.

In Grbovic's view, this indicates that many of the society's democratic processes have been considerably ahead of the LC's political action. It is obvious that the LC has failed to prepare itself for action in circumstances of political pluralism. Repulsive political jargon, discord among leaderships, and outmoded methodology have made the LC "highly uncompetitive" in the struggle for new members. In addition, it has done very little in transforming itself into a modern political party.

The reputation of and confidence in the LC depend on its ability to clearly outline a democratic vision of development and, in competition with other political factors, to be more democratic, more humane...

We should expect the beginning of this process at the forthcoming 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. The top meeting of Yugoslav Communists, Grbovic concluded, is one of the last chances for the LC to change the course of negative trends in its favor.

Dragic Jokic assessed that the draft report on the work is considerably better than some earlier versions.

Jokic said that the problem of Kosovo "should not be on page 44 of 68 pages," because in the inter-congress period it was the source of many social problems. According to him, the draft report is lacking in complete assessments of the causes of the counterrevolution in Kosovo and everything which played into the hands of the Albanian nationalists and separatists.

There are also not enough clear critical assessments of the inter-congress contribution of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium and a verdict on whether the Presidium's stances were always politically good and timely.

In addition to several concrete proposals and comments, Novo Vujosevic noted that on the basis of certain formulations in the draft report, the impression is given that "we are behaving as though we are not threatened by competition and a struggle in a free political market."

We have to "regain" the whole territory of Yugoslavia. Otherwise, Vujosevic warned, "the prospects look gloomy for us."

He noted that is is not enough to say in the report that nationalism has penetrated the LC, rather it is necessary to point out that both the LC and the political system generate it.

Vujosevic said in conclusion that political party schools are something of an anachronism in conditions of advancing pluralism, and that Marxist centers should be radically transformed.

Following this short discussion, the Central Committee unanimously adopted the draft report on LCY activities, the work of the LCY Central Committee, its organs and bodies in the inter-congress period. The proposals and suggestions put forward today will be included in the text of the report by a special commission, and will then be sent to the delegates of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress.

Dramatic developments in socialist countries have reflected people's discontent with the lag in these countries in comparison with most progressive civilization trends and achievements. They indicate the intensity of

resistance to the system in which all this is happening. As a result we must realistically evaluate our path to socialism and our position in the world, Stefan Korosec said, explaining the draft declaration of the 14th LCY Congress. We have neither time nor scope left if we we want to catch up with the dynamic rhythm of progressive changes which have imposed themselves as an imperative, Korosec said, adding that from this the concept of the document had evolved, drawn up under a decision by the Committee for the Preparation of the 14th extraordinary congress. The preparation committee decided to draw up the declaration, or rather a general resolution as an independent document of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress as a synthesis of other congress documents.

This document is a result of our awareness that until a new ideological profile of the LCY has been formulated in a new LCY program, we need a transitional program document which will draw a clear line between the new and the old, between what we must abandon and what we must accept as new. In other words, the declaration does not conflict with other congress documents; it will enable us, however, to take a step from where the Yugoslav Communists' collective consciousness is at the moment. The document is the result of our ambitions to show that we are not and do not want to lag behind reforms within socialism.

We have embarked on reforms, Korosec said, in order not to reject or abandon the idea of socialism, but to safeguard and develop it. The document was drawn up with the desire to contribute toward the efforts to release accumulated political energy, which is today blocked by differences between republican LC organizations over the path toward new democratic socialism, and a new LC as outlined in documents for the 14th LCY Congress. The departure points as formulated in the declaration are expected to enhance and consolidate the reform-oriented course.

This document will, in fact, mark the beginning of the renewal of the LCY and of the ideas of our communist movement, which looks upon socialism and its place in it in a new and different light. Unless we come up with new political ideas and programs there will be no need for a congress, or ultimately for our existence on the political map of Yugoslavia. We shall inevitably be wiped off by a new political movement which can offer better, more progressive ideas. To stubbornly defend the arsenal of old political ideas at the present time would be an act of hopelessness, utopia, and a tragic farce.

Our declaration is aimed at encouraging and mobilizing democratic potential and forces within the LCY and society, at conveying our clear message that we also strive for a better life, and also to promote the idea of a democratic socialism and the League of Communists. To this end we are prepared to face the challenges of the market and political competition of equal political entities. Our path is not one of repression and monolithism; it is, rather, a path of freedom and pluralism.

The only way to attain our goals, our own affirmation, and also to preserve the country's unity and to prevent its disintegration, is to develop democracy, a market economy, human rights and freedoms, and to open ourselves to the world. To attain this we are prepared to enter into coalition with all the forces of democratic alternative.

It is impossible to sustain and affirm the idea of socialism in its present form without making a complete turnabout toward citizens, individuals, democracy, the market, and the latest civilizational achievements. We shed illusions about socialism as a completely new society, which cut all umbilical cords with the world which gave birth to it, knowing that these illusions lead to isolation on the margins of civilization, an isolation which, as we see these days, one meets at a dreadful cost. We are developing new socialism under conditions of a free flow of people, ideas, goods, and achievements, Korosec stressed.

Today it is more than plain that the irrevocable death (both thoretical and practical) of state socialism, consensus, that is, etatistic-bureaucratic economy, political monism, and any form of inequality of nations and nationalities, has been announced. We shed the illusion about democratic nature and efficiency of simulated political pluralism, the illusion that one can live in a stable society if it is presupposed that anything can be more important than man and his rights and freedoms.

We departed from the dogmatic equation according to which there can be no self-management without social ownership, and no socialism without self-management. Property cannot become social property by having no legal owner, but by becoming social capital. Self-management, as one of the most important human rights in our system, has a historical perspective not as an all-embracing social construction of integral self-management, but as a realistically achievable individual right of a man to self-organization, as an economic and social right based on work and assets, and as the right of nations to self-determination to secession.

We want to continue to be one of the most decisive social and political forces and to take part in running society. But the right to this must be won in democratic, secret, and free elections and in political competition. Our aim is the power which is in the service of, above all, man; the power which has as one of its main tasks the protection of man's rights and liberties, and not their violation in the name of any idea whatsoever. The aim is also a law-governed state under the public's complete democratic control.

We must join Europe by joining its institutions. The first step, the inclusion in European integrations, must be our demand to join EFTA. In order to fulfill political and economic, apart from geographical, conditions for this, we must carry through constitutional changes. One of the starting points for this is our demand that no one can have in advance guaranteed and for all time ascribed

avant-gardism and that no one can have a privileged status guaranteed by the top legal act of the country.

These, in Korosec's view, are our answers to the issues of the present, and also to the fact that for too long we have been following the historical fermentation in socialism as observers, even though, in a way, we ourselves began the process of the transformation of socialism 40 years ago. As a result of our uncritical attitude toward our own ideas, our unwillingness and inability to face up to reality which is dramatically changing from day to day, we have lost much precious time, room for maneuver, and the people's patience. The declaration is one of the attempts to compensate for this.

Since next year in certain parts of the country real elections with political competition will be held, as a supplement to this declaration there is a list of priority political moves. Their implementation will be a practical test of our ability, on the basis of which Yugoslav Communists will win the confidence of the citizens at those elections.

We must look to the future realistically, with optimism, but without being triumphant. Assigning to the past what belongs to it, and to the future the positive utopia which we are not abandoning but which cannot be the basis for a realizable and realistic political program, we must overcome our own mistakes and illusions. We must also take the risk of action, because only that can bring success in overcoming all that is dogmatic and conservative in the LC and in society—everything that is holding back the people's creativity and freedom. We must all accept this criterion in taking a step into the unknown, which we are entering, with the firm determination to secure for everyone a life worthy of man, prosperity, and equality, Korosec concluded, noting that a separate resolution on Kosovo would be adopted. [passage omitted]

Vinko Hafner said that members of the Central Committee have found themselves in an ungrateful role. Some of the documents for the congress have already been adopted, and nowadays they are supposed to endorse its basic document—declaration. What will happen if some of the stands in these documents conflict, Hafner asked, proposing that at this stage the declaration should be adopted as a draft document and that it should then be discussed again prior to the congress. [passage omitted]

According to Hafner, the LCY is most responsible for implementing the economic reform. There are no possibilities for a radical economic reform without a political consensus between the republics and provinces and all social strata. If we do not agree on this, we will not need the congress either, Hafner stressed.

Having noted that the proposed declaration talks almost exclusively about the individual, Dragan Kalinic stressed that in a desire to abandon collectivism, there should not be a shift to the other extreme—to "extreme individuality". In his view, party membership should also be given an opportunity to consider the declaration and to voice its views on it. It should also be pointed out that this is a document for the future and not for the purpose of daily politics.

Sanija Veselji objected to the use of the term "national minority" in the draft declaration and called for the constitutionally established category of "nationality" to continue to be used. [passage omitted]

Dusan Dragosavac endorsed the intitiative to adopt the declaration and went on to note that when listing political priorities, the tone should be less "commanding," since in the future the LC will not be able to command but merely to appeal. He also thinks that the term "national minority" should be left out, and that when formulating certain stands it should not be forgotten that both socialism and capitalism are world processes and not "pure" models.

We shall no longer have the kind of socialism that was created after World War I in the first country of the revolution, and after World War II in other Eastern European countries, Lev Kreft assessed. With its unconvincing ideology and typically monopolistic one-party position, it created a danger to suppress the essential significance of the terms such as socialism and Marxism, not to mention communism. [passage omitted] Milutin Folic proposed that the text of the declaration should be restructured in places in order to stress the importance of strengthening Yugoslav socialist patriotism. [passage omitted]

Today, as well, we are showing that we are demagogues—we demand that people work more efficiently and announce a 3-day meeting—Blagoja Handziski said, and concluded that the proposed declaration was essentially different from other party documents, including those which are being prepared for the congress. If this kind of declaration is endorsed, he assesses, then we shall soon have a truly democratic socialism and a state of law, market economy, free and secret elections, independent and free press, political pluralism...

Judging by the debate, members of the Central Committee support the proposed declaration. I am only asking, is this just a verbal support, or does it also mean the obligation that one day the declaration will become reality?, Handziski asked. [passage omitted]

Replying to the many comments on the proposed text of the declaration and the criticism that time is too short for its preparation, Slobodan Ignjatovic noted that if this is a reason for postponing the congress, then we should say so. "Who are we trying to deceive?," he asked.

Nikola Jovanovic believed that the problem is to what extent the declaration is binding for the LCY. Does the LCY in fact exist at all as a united organization, he asked. If, he recalled, the congress of the Slovene Communists has imperiously determined the behavior of its delegates at the 14th extraordinary congress, who will be bound by this declaration?

Today's plenum of the LCY Central Committee must answer this, in Jovanovic's view. He suggested that the declaration be published in the press, and that its final text be either adopted or not adopted at the congress itself.

Stefan Korosec, who led the working group for drawing up the declaration, then asked to speak. Assessing that today's debate had shown that such a document is needed by the 14th congress, he proposed that the declaration be published in the daily press and that the final text be determined in light of suggestions from the public debate at the congress itself. The holding of the congress cannot be brought into question because of the declaration, he noted.

The members of the LCY Central Committee endorsed his proposals and adopted the draft declaration, "The New Project of Democratic Socialism in Yugoslavia," which, when it is adopted, will have the same weight as the other congress documents.

The debate on the draft document on the transformation of the LC was preceded by Boris Muzevic, head of a working group, who presented an introductory report on the issue. He noted that his report was not submitted to the Presidium for adoption although it reflected views and stances arrived at by the working group. This fact does not make any difference, since the document cannot be expected to reflect all the changes which have been taking place at lightning speed. This is best exemplified by the stances referring to the forms of political organization. Not long ago we discussed political pluralism. Later we agreed that that was our reality. But today we are already talking about a multiparty system. Without our tolerance or the LC's transformation there would have been no such changes, Muzevic said.

He went on to speak in greater detail about the outcome of a public debate on the LC's transformation. He stressed that the working group had tried to reflect common points of the debate.

The document proceeds from stances stressing the need for a democratic transformation of the LC, from the principle which calls for the abolition of the LC's monopoly and its separation from the state. The public debate placed particular emphasis on the need for unity in the LC and the need for bolder and more diverse forms of activity, more democratic cadre policy, secret elections, etc.

Muzevic said that in the public debate, stress had been laid on a high number of compromised stands in the document in connection with the questions of social reform, that is, the forces which favored changes and those wishing to maintain the status quo. [passage omitted]

Tomislav Radovic found it necessary, in connection with this item on the agenda, to raise the question of the justification of a recent conclusion by the congress of Slovene Communists "about voluntary cooperation between the Slovene LC and the LCY Central Committee." With this conclusion, does the LC turn into a federation of leagues or independent organizations? Does it mean that the unity of the LC is not recognized, and has not the Slovene LC thus announced that it would leave the Central Committee? At the congress this question should be discussed and cleared up, since it is of the widest significance for membership, Radovic said.

The decisions of the 11th Congress of the Slovene LC present a radical demand for reforms in the LCY, Bozidar Debenjak said. They indicate that the LCY should stop being an obstacle in the development of Yugoslavia and a place from which political problems generate and should finally become a place in which solutions for this country are sought and found. [passage omitted]

The Slovene LC has not left the Central Committee, had it done so we would not be here now nor would we be electing delegates for the forthcoming Yugoslav congress, Debenjak stressed. But Communists in Slovenia ask that it be realized what is necessary to be carried out there so that we no longer live in illusions that we are moving forward, despite facts showing just the opposite, that we are stagnating. A positive program is the meaning of the demand and imperative mandate of Slovene Communists, Debenjak concluded, since the time for changes is up.

Answering Bozidar Debenjak, Stanko Radmilovic said that he believes that the Slovene LC has no intention of separating itself from the LCY. But if the separation is not the issue, then asymmetry is. The picture is, thus, becoming complete, so that together with an asymmetric state now we have an asymmetric LC.

According to Radmilovic, the theses from Slovenia that "we have the right to decide in what Yugoslavia we want to live" is implemented. In this respect, there can be no asymmetry, because everyone else in the country has this right, he said, stressing that Serbia does not want to and will not stoop anymore and cannot accept togetherness imposed from Slovenia.

Economic reform, he believes, does not comprise just changes on the micro-economic level. Reform of economic relations within the federation and departure from the consensus economy, to which Slovenia is opposed, is also important.

The essence of these oppositions is the reduction of the single Yugoslav market solely to free trade and flow of goods. The single Yugoslav market, Radmilovic holds, is a much more complex and broader notion and it presupposes a single fiscal system, and, in part, a single federal policy which is not deduced from republican and provincial stands, but is independent and sovereign.

In a complex community like Yugoslavia, a single market cannot be implemented in conditions of a confederation or asymmetrical federation. It is unrealistic, illogical, and incomprehensible that the most developed

should secure for itself a privileged position, while giving the community only as much as it considers it should or can do. These are not equal economic relations.

For as long as there is insistance on a "confederal federation", Radmilovic said, we will take measures to protect our republic's interests. This is not political arrogance or nervousness, but elementary logic, and we will not go against it.

Janez Kocijancic reacted to Radmilovic's words with the remark that it seems to be becoming boring if there is no censuring or attempt at disciplining the Slovene Communists at Central Committee sessions. There may be differing views about the call of the congress of Slovene Communists for a "league of leagues", but a priori unity and monolithism are experiencing their historical end. The classic understanding of democratic centralism has been superseded and new bases for the LCY should be considered. The orientation toward a priori unity carries with it elements of Bolshevism; it is opposed to political pluralism and the spirit of modernity.

What we are experiencing at the plenum is an advance debate on the eve of the congress, Kocijancic continued. As always when Slovenia is in question, this is being done by our comrades in Serbia. In the same way, the opposite can also be debated, he asserted and asked what purpose the republican congresses of the LC serves if they do not have the right to formulate a platform and, on the basis of it and of other platforms in Yugoslavia, to seek joint solutions.

As far as we are concerned, the LCY does exist. To what extent it is really united is another question and does not depend only on the behavior of one part of the LCY. We believe that a synthesis is possible, that a positive alternative is possible, that socialism in Yugoslavia has not declined to such an extent that we should "save what there is to be saved."

What the future holds does not depend only on the Communists in Slovenia. They are constantly censuring, labelling, and boycotting us, and this is not the way to build unity in the LCY. Unity can only be built all together.

Assessing that Stanko Radmilovic had given an "interesting sermon" with his observation that Serbia would not bow its head, Kocijancic noted that it can also be said that Slovenia will not bow its head. The time has passed when Slovenia could be frightened. The only way to have discussions with us is on an equal footing.

How does Radmilovic envisage a single Yugoslav market in conditions of a boycott proclaimed by his republic, Kocijancic asked, and in connection with the comment that Slovenia is in a privileged position, he noted that "it must be a question of great privileges when we are getting nothing from them." We are bringing foreign currency into the Yugosalv economy, and Slovenia is thereby contributing in the most concrete manner to Yugoslavia.

Serbia is right to call for equal relations, but all others are also right when they call for the same thing in conditions of civilized relations, without blackmail and boycotts. If orders as to who is to cooperate with whom are to come from organizations such as the Socialist Alliance in the future, all this is just empty words, Kocijancic concluded.

Communists in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] consider that the document on the LCY's transformation is a solid foundation for debate, but criticize the fact that it does not contain any self-critical reference to the causes of the LCY's crisis, which, in their view, at the same time are also one of the fundamental causes of the crisis in the country as a whole, said Anton Lukezic. It is a question, of course, of the ascendency of nationality over class, made possible by the shortcomings in the political and economic system and their inefficient functioning.

Presenting the LC organization's stances in the JNA, Lukezic calls for Yugoslavia as an efficient, modern, and law-governed state which ensurs the full national affirmation of all its citizens. The federation, Lukezic added, cannot be a subject of daily political haggling, which also means that the tendencies toward confederalization of the state and efforts to destroy it are unacceptable.

What is called for, according to Lukezic, is the establishment of the LCY's unity of ideology and action while maintaining democratic centralism as a basic principle of decisionmaking, without which the LCY would not have existed as a united Yugoslav organization. Lukezic said that its democratic element should be emphasized, but that the majority's wish must be respected.

Political pluralism should not be equated with a multiparty system, continued Lukezic. The JNA's opposition to that model is not the result of some particular Army interests; rather the recognition that it would, in the present situation, drag society into a dangerous labyrinth of intranational divisions and conflicts. Communists in the JNA therefore consider that the way out must be sought in greater independence of socio-political organizations and other associations and alliances of citizens as a framework for the expression of new ideas and interests.

They also reject the thesis about depoliticizing the Army which will essentially deny its popular and revolutionary character, even more so because the JNA advocates neither a unitarist nor conservative concept of social development. It favors a federation with clearly defined functions as a precondition for the SFRY's survival. Stressing that the Army is not closed to other views, Lukezic finally said that the document on the LCY's transformation should clearly state that the LC is responsible for seeking ways out of the crisis. [passage omitted]

Expressing his fear for the future, Vinko Hafner said that he was not a free agent. I am first of all a Slovene and a Slovene Communist, responsible to the Slovene working class and the Slovene nation first of all. Then, because of the fate of this nation, this working class, and myself, I

must be responsible for events in Yugoslavia as well. I have always worked like this and often found myself in the position that somebody tells me: You are trying to sit on two chairs and will fall in between. Fortunately, I do not wish to sit on either, which to some extent frees me from this tension, Hafner said. Hafner added that he obtains his views, stands, and responsibility from the Slovene party rank-and-file, and this also means from the LC congress of this republic. [passage omitted]

National interests are raised above class interests. Because of this we have distanced ourselves from class ideas and have started to identify a nation with class, Hafner stressed. He spoke in favor of an optimal provision of independence for parts of the LC and at the same time the recognition of our fairly pronounced differences and in favor of seeking a synthesis. On this depends the fate of everyone—Slovenes, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others. It seems that a feeling for this synthesis has, in recent times in particular, been considerably reduced.

I told you at an LCY Central Committee session that we could not postpone or prevent endorsing amendments to the Slovene constitution, Hafner recalled. This would mean compromising ourselves in front of our working class and nation, he added, stressing: Let these constitutional amendments be solidly, politically, and legally, developed by experts; then we shall see what is good and progressive in them and what we could improve.

According to some, the adoption of these amendments was provoked by such trends in Yugoslavia, Hafner said, adding to this mutual conflicts, in particular the Kosovo drama, which has led to the strongest demands by Slovenes for their sovereignty. According to him, some of these amendments would not even have appeared had it not been for this crisis situation and demoralization or conflicts, because Slovenes would have known that even without them they could live independently and well in this shared Yugoslavia.

Hafner said that he does not approve of the fact that Slovenes and Slovene Communists—their leaders—were not sufficiently critical of Slovene nationalism and serious manifestations of separatism. He added that they themselves had contributed to the exacerbation of relations between Serbian and Slovene leaderships. He added, however, that the biggest mistake of Serbian comrades was "that you have done some things, I would say, without thinking. Such was, certainly, your support for this meeting in Ljubljana", he stressed.

Hafner continued by saying that, 14 days before the meeting, he telephoned Trifunovic and Milosevic to ask them to use their influence and reputation and to stop the meeting from taking place, as it could have serious, even catastrophic consequences, but not because of provocations by Serbs and Montenegrins, or Slovenes, or even Albanians living in Ljubljana, but because of other forces which might abuse the meeting for most serious provocations which could have even more serious consequences than if the idea of the meeting was to be abandoned.

Having stressed that he had done this with good intentions, Hafner drew attention to what followed, i.e. the break in economic relations between Serbia and Slovenia.

"That was neither a very good or very useful move. You have not thought it through," Hafner stressed, and went on to add that Serbia's decision to sever relations was not accorded due attention. The decision only served to create a mood among Slovene Communists who began to think: "Well, if that is what they want, let the slovene LC cede from the LCY." Hafner stressed that the congress of the Slovene LC proceeded in similar atmosphere and that he, himself, did not approve of everything that had been decided by the congress, but that it nevertheless reflected the firm stance of not just Slovene Communists but the Slovene leadership as well. [passage omitted]

Having stressed that time is running out for changing the situation in either Slovenia, Serbia, or Yugoslavia, Hafner said that there is, however, still scope for us in Slovenia, you in Serbia, and all other republics and provinces, to do something to make our views on the LC's role in both the political and economic system and on its reform converge at the congress. I appeal to, above all, leading comrades in Slovenia and Serbia to do something in this direction and to this end, Hafner said in conclusion.

27 Dec Proceedings

LD2712210189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—The 29th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee resumed in Belgrade's Sava Center this morning [27 December]. Members of the party's top forum are today expected to adopt three congressional documents on the LCY's transformation and tasks facing Communists in their efforts to reform the political and economic system

The 2d working day of the 29th session was opened by Milan Pancevski who, echoing the stances adopted at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium this morning, tried to redirect the debate that had bugun yesterday and resumed today on the transformation of the LCY regarding the issue of relevant congress documents. This was necessary because during today's debate, a large number of remarks were made about some of the decisions adopted by the Slovene League of Communists [LC] congress. According to Pancevski, the LCY Central Committee believes that these issues should be discussed on another occasion primarily because at the current session the LCY Central Committee is expected to adopt congress documents and because the LCY Central Committee Presidium still lacks a complete insight into the decisions passed by

Slovene Communists. Once the Presidium has considered them, the issue will be submitted to the LCY Central Comittee for discussion.

The LCY Central Committee adopted Pancevski's proposal.

The issue of organization and unity in the LCY, which are affected by some of the decisions of the Slovene LC congress, is too important to be postponed for another occasion, Rados Smiljkovic said. In his view, it is the Slovene Communists unassailable right to pass whatever decisions they like. However, it is the duty of the LCY Central Committee to give its assessment of these decisions. After reading in Slovene the Slovene LC's decision urging the transformation of the LCY into an alliance of independent republican organizations, Smiljkovic pointed out that this decision raises a whole spectrum of problems concerning all of us and not just one republic.

Milomir Minic also supported the call for a discussion of the Slovene LC congress' decisions. This, according to him, is a crucial issue, because if the LCY stops being a united organization, then there will be no next congress. If, on the other hand, there are others in the Central Committee who, like Slovene Communists, are for a disunited LCY, then they should say so openly so that we can start resolving problems, Minic stressed.

The problem does not lie in the view of one republic but in relations wilthin the LCY, Stefan Korosec noted in response to the previous speakers, and, to be more precise, in the nature of real relations, and not as prescribed by numerous documents. He called for a postponement of the debate on Slovene decisions because, as he put it, it is impossible to adopt a stand on the basis of a single quotation from the document. All the more so, Korosec pointed out, because such views are held by other republican organizations but not as precisely formulated as in the Slovene documents. [passage omitted: Sergej Kraiher supports the proposal that today's session discuss only the documents of the forthcoming congress; Krstan Malesevic approves of the declaration on "new roads for the development of democratic socialism"]

If we have decided on changes, then changes are necessary within the LCY, too. We must radically break away from the project of party socialism, Malesevic believes. One of the basic problems in the party is its diversity, that is, only a small number of LC members accept political competition, without which the LC cannot recover. If we do not succeed in this, then the question of our role and survival on the political scene will be raised. A new LC role and a new profile of its members will guarantee its success, and only then will the party become an influential—if not the most influential—factor in society.

Malesevic voiced his doubt regarding LC members' willingness to go into political battle. He substantiated this with the fact that many are going back to the old-style organization and old methods of work, for which the leading role of the LC was mostly to blame.

I am not sure that we are aware of the meaning of all the orientations adopted, Malesevic stressed. This explains the unresolved alternative from the document about the LC transformation regarding decisionmaking within the LC—by majority vote or by consensus. The struggle for LC unity cannot be fought in the manner and content of yesteryear, because some new threats and new contents—principles of autonomy and integration—exist now, Malesevic stressed.

Svetozar Krstic agreed with the LCY Central Committee Presidium's decision but still asked for the Central Committee to set a date for a special session to discuss the decision of the 11th Slovene LC Congress which, according to him, has changed the LCY's character. If Slovene Communists decide to adhere to their stand, we will have to face the problem of how to prepare the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress and who is going to take part in it. [passage omitted]

Radovic proposed that both the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee not discuss the Slovene and any other similar initiative at special sessions but that the LCY Central Committee today revise the agenda for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress so that the congress can, at its outset, adopt a stand on the decisions of the 11th Slovene LC Congress and decide who is and who is not in the LCY.

Bearing in mind that documents were prepared for a single LCY, we must not present delegates with a dilemma. It is not enough to say "we are present at this session, which means that we are still a part of the LCY," but the decisions made should be looked at, Radovic went on. Explanations that the Slovene constitution was changed because of the situation in Kosovo and the decision on tactical departure from the LCY was adopted because of the situation in Yugoslavia, are unacceptable, he assessed. The question is obviously what the next move will be, if solutions of crucial importance for Yugoslavia are made on the basis of the current situation. This is even more so because the solutions are not, as frequently stressed, a result of fear, but of a lack of information.

Although it may appear that this discussion is within the context of the Serbian-Slovene clash, it is of crucial importance for Yugoslavia, Petar Gosev said while advocating the adoption of the LCY Central Committee Presidium's conclusions, that is, the adoption of the congress documents as a precondition for holding the top Yugoslav party gathering. Gosev holds that special sessions of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium should discuss 11th Slovene LC Congress's decision and other initiatives, and that different stands and arguments, if no agreement is reached on them, are presented at the congress. Pointing out that the 14th extraordinary congress will decide on a new LCY program and statute, Gosev stressed that all proposals will compete then, so

that there is no need to make a decision about them either today or on the congress. All initiatives will participate "in the game" when new documents are drawn up, Gosev concluded. Until they are adopted, the existing ones should be observed.

The discussion so far ignores the LCY Central Committee Presidium's proposal and the stance already adopted by the Central Committe, Ivica Racan assessed and added that this only confirms the impression that many things are not good among party the rank-and-file and that they are undermining the LC. It unacceptable to hold that only one initiative, move, or practice undermines the LCY.

We are aware, Racan continued, that the proposed document on the LCY's transformation does not sufficiently express the historical situation in which our society and the LC is in. Therefore, we decided to draw up a new LCY program and a new party statute. I could be cynical, but in such a situation everyone is responsible "not to contribute more than need be to the existing divisions." The divisions could occur before the congress or even after it.

Do we have the strength to apprehend in a reasoned manner the problems, including different factors which conditioned certain behavior within the LCY. We cannot put only the stances of the Slovene LC congress on the agenda without putting on the agenda what comrades in Slovenia keep drawing our attention to when explaining their moves.

Recalling the previous initiative of the Croat LC that a discussion on all obstacles to reform processes is opened up, Racan assessed that the discussion on the disputed decision of the Slovene Communists' congress is not "the most fortunate", but that it, nevertheless, puts delegates from that organization who will come to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress under an obligation to explain their stance.

He therefore suggested that the Central Committee consider various initiatives on the manners of organization and relations in the LCY and to decide whether they are conducive to efforts to arrive at the most favorable solutions to transform the LC. If they are found to be so I can see no reason why either the Central Committee or the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress should vote on a stand by the LC congress of one republic. According to Racan this would lead to an inevitable split.

Speaking about initiatives set in motion at the recent Croat LC congress, he noted the stand on abandoning democratic centralism and formulating new codes of party discipline on the principle of democratic unity. Croat Communists will fight for all these initiatives at the 14th LCY Congress.

I am sorry, Racan said, that some of the issues were not discussed before or even at the time when eight members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium called for an LCY Central Committee plenum before divisions received endorsement at individual congresses.

In response to Racan, Ratomir Vico said that a debate on the Slovene LC decision relevannt to the documents on the LC's transformation as it refers to the issue of unity among the party ranks. We cannot bury our heads in the sand in view of this fact.

I am surprised at Racan's words, Vico said, because I thought that all initiatives about the LC's transformation are being sent to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and that today we have a chance to discuss them openly. However, it seems that some people here today are ready to vote for the proposed document while at the same time they are preparing completely different proposals for the congress. This means that they are ignoring this Central Committee and working bodies which prepared congress documents, Vico said, and asked why Racan or the Presidium have not informed the Central Committee about all initiatives. [passage omitted]

Asking to speak once again, Ivica Racan stressed that he does not allow imputations about sneering behind somebody's back. We should avoid majorization and ideas being imposed via the back door, he said, stressing that he would like to believe that the Slovene LC congress' decisions were moving toward the LCY congress and a new party program and statute. Before we vote whom to expel, let us give everyone a chance, let us discover how to build unity in the LCY. [passage omitted]

Bogdan Trifunovic first of all expressed his fear that the debate at today's plenum is becoming confusing, because it is not known who is proposing what and who is speaking in favor of what. He then recalled that at the congress as well [words indistinct]. He said that it is a good thing that as many questions as possible were discussed before so that there were fewer amendments at the congress. He believes that working groups should be instructed to prepare a new party program and statute—documents in accordance with modern democratic times.

After saying that the Slovene congress had the right to propose that the LCY should be a federation of leagues and that the LCY Central Committee should take a stand on this, Trifunic said that the party membership is interested in preserving the LCY as a united modern organization on which, he believes, the republican congresses and provincial conference have already taken a stand. [passage omitted]

Responding to Trifunovic's discussion Stefan Korosec said that he feels that members of the LCY Central Committee do not understand each other. In this context he stressed that the decision by the Slovene LC congress did not mean secession from the LCY. If someone is trying to "push" the Slovene LC out of the LCY he must take full responsibility for it.

The LC's transformation has to be seen as a process and the 14th congress as its initial stage at which issues will

be discussed which will later find their place in the new party program and statute, Korosec says. The (?session) to be held before the congress must be used to arrive at the final version of (?the documents) of the congress, Vinko Hafner said.

Most of the discussions so far, Boris Malada noted, raise "the issue of unity as the issue of all issues." This is, he stressed, the main precondition for our survival. However, Malada holds that such thinking leads to a further division within the LCY.

Commenting on many remarks about the Slovene LC congress decision, Boris Malada stressed that we should, above all, ask why someone should behave in this way and why someone should opt for such initiatives. We should, therefore—he believes—review circumstances which inspire, in specific cases, Slovene Communists to make certain decisions, and then we should change these circumstances.

Boris Malada proposed that the next session of the Central Committee should analyze the stances and decisions of all republican congresses, and that on that basis "a program from which unity will stem" should be drawn up.

I proceed from the conviction, Nijaz Durakovic said, that the decisions of the Slovene congress were made in a democratic, sovereign, and responsible way, and that, therefore, we must have the same (?attitude) toward them. However, he stressed, this does not mean that we should not discuss them, since they open up the question of the further fate of (?the LCY and Yugoslavia). Durakovic is in favor of a discussion which would lead to a synthesis and recalled that the next 14th extraordinary congress is being prepared in accordance with the existing statute and that [words indistinct]. Finally he proposed that the LCY Central Committee Presidium be empowered to discuss the decisions of the Slovene Communists congress and other similar initiatives, and that afterward it should assess whether a special Central Committee session should be convened.

After the discussion, in which 19 Central Committee members gave seven replies, the Central Committee unanimously established the proposal of the document about the LCY transformation. The head of the working group, Boris Muzevic, assessed that the entire work on this job was done thoroughly and that members of the working group showed a willingness to reach common ground. True, he added, time has already made many points in the document out of date, but this should not be understood as a weakness, but as an opportunity to draft a better program at the congress.

At the proposal of Stefan Korosec, who presided at the meeting, the plenum adopted the conclusion regarding the demand that a discussion on the stances of the Slovene LC congress be conducted today. The LCY Central Committee Presidium will first discuss this topic at one of its forthcoming sessions. The discussion will be held on the basis of the full test of the stances of and information provided by the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium in order, as stated, to avoid individual interpretations.

The Presidium will inform the Central Committee about its stance at a session, which must be held before the congress.

Sorting out comments from the party public debate on a proposed document about economic reform and the LCY tasks on its implementation, in micro- and macroeconomic plans, Stanko Radmilovic, who headed the group drawing up this document, said that most of them had been maximally taken into account. [passage omitted: Radmilovic believes that it is clear that curbing inflation is a prerequisite for economic reform] Dali Dzonlagic, after commenting that the proposed document has been in preparation for a long time, said that it has already been overtaken by events. The most recent events have put some new themes in the foreground and have also given answers to some questions raised in the document, he said. Among other things he referred to events in East European countries, which necessitate the development of new economic relations with this region as well as greater integration between Yugoslavia and European [words indistinct].

Proposing that the document proposals be withdrawn, Dzonlagic said that the LCY's basic orientations about developing socioeconomic relations should be inserted in the declaration for the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress or that a new, short, powerful, and mobilizing document should be drawn up. Among questions which should be dealt with within such a document, he mentioned a way of implementing a new economic system, ways of economically developing the SFRY, and of implementing the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] economic policy.

Replying to Dzonlagic, Slobodan Ignjatovic assessed his proposal as unproductive because, as he said, there is not enough time before the congress to draw up a new document. He stressed that delegates of the highest-ranking political meeting should be given a chance to amend materials. Speaking in favor of endorsing the document, Ignjatovic concluded that Dzonlagic's initiative is yet another attempt to create conditions for postponing the congress. [passage omitted: Several numbers of the Central Committee approve of the document, although they believe that it could be further amended]

Do we need a document with which we will express support for the FEC? Slobodan Ignjatovic asked. Until recently we have worked for a separation of the party from the state and now "suddenly it is as if the party is becoming an appendage of the state, more precisely of Ante Markovic." The proposed document can be radically altered, but there is no need to adopt a (?comprehensive) program, as the state organs do. [passage omitted: a member denies saying that a proposal for a radical change of the document would mean sabotage].

The proposed document on economic reform should be the Communist view of these problems, which does not mean that it should be identical to the federal government program in every way, Filip Vukovic said. [passage omitted: Vukovic says that the stand that the reform should be based on strategic orientations of the LCY does not mean that it should necessarily be successful].

Putting forward an interesting proposal that sociopolitical organizations should be taken off the budget and financed from membership fees, Vukovic stressed that in a situation where pluralism exists, there should not be a situation where some have their existence ensured in advance and others do not. This would mean one-sided political pluralism, he assessed, suggesting that the money from the budget earmarked for sociopolitical organizations be used for education, culture and science.

The LC should open up toward all social structures and primarily toward the working class and young people. The party should express the vital interests of the modern working classes, which are now leaving the ranks, as well as of the intelligentsia, Borislav Mikelic stressed, commenting that the LC does not need new cowards gaining sympathy through sycophancy. On the contrary, we need those who will gain sympathy exclusively by efficient action. No party, including the LC, will be respected if it does not create conditions for our production forces to operate at the European level. [passage omitted: Mikelic believes that the next year is of key importance for curbing inflation].

Whether or not the party should stay in enterprises should be decided by workers, not by somebody on the side, Mikelic said, concluding that economic reform is of vital importance for Yugoslavia and to implement it, it is necessary to establish political tolerance at least. [passage omitted: Vlajko Stojiljkovic beleives that it is necessary to have a single Yugoslav market, free flow of people, goods and capital, and a single bases for fiscal and credit policies; he expresses his support for the aims of the recent FEC program of economic measures, but criticizes its stand toward agriculture. Janez Zemljaric is in favor of adopting the document on economic reform; Ivan Mihaljev notes that economic reform will almost certainly be discussed by the forthcoming congress; Dragan Tomic is in favor of adopting the document on economic reform; Stanko Radmilovic supports the proposal that the document on economic reform be adopted today; Vlajko Stoljkovic is for the adoption of the document on economic reform but points out that the Assembly is competent to adopt FEC economic measures]

After this discussion, the Central Committee adopted by a majority of votes (12 against) the proposed document on economic reform and the role and tasks of the LCY in its implementation. The document will be passed to the congress delegates.

After the afternoon break, the Central Committee, without introductory remarks and discussion, unanimously adopted the proposed congress document "Ideopolitical Platform for the LCY's Activity Regarding Changes of the Political System."

Afterward, the session proceeded with the sixth item on the long agenda. The item envisages an exchange of views on changes and amendments to the LCY Statute. Jovo Ugricic, chairman of the Statutory Commission, presented the introductory remarks. He underscored in particular that, apparent from numberous contradictory proposals, the demand for the preservation of LCY unity prevails in public debate. He also emphasized proposals that changes to the statute, especially new documents, define the status of the LC under the conditions of a pluralist society. Regarding the financing of the party, he recalled, the view that the present mode should be retained prevails.

When changing the statute, we must bear in mind, Bozidar Debenjak noted, that the existing text is one of the most conservative in the world. He advocated that the demand from as far back as 1952 be finally met and that the LCY be separated from the state, because if "we want to retain Bolshevic principles, then we must know that those who do not change are overthrown." Debenjak is convinced that the current Central Committee does not want that.

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted: Nikola Matovski says that the proposed changes to the statute are not sufficient for the development of a modern party; Branko Caratan says that outvoting should not be a mode of decision-making within the LC and that the Croat LC advocates that the term of office of the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium be just 1 year]

After the discussion, LCY Central Committee members supported the proposed changes and amendments to the LCY Statute, while the Statutory Commission is empowered to make a final draft of the text. It was concluded that the commission will also draw up a proposal that the drafting of a new LCY Statute, which will be the task of the 14th extraordinary LCY congress, should begin.

The Central Committee, with four votes against, today decided on the introduction of the office and the term of the office of the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and on the constitution of an executive-political LCY body. The term of office of the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium will be 2 years, instead of 1 year, as it has been so far.

The Central Committee decided by a majority of votes that the president's term of office should be 2 years. Two alternatives were also proposed: 11 years and just 1 year.

A short discussion followed the voting. In the discussion, Vinko Hafner advocated that the term of office be longer than the present one. Just remember, he told the LCY Central Committee members, what happened to our presidents over the past 3 years. A 1-year term of office

(which the Croat LC favored), according to Hafner, is not good and has lowered the quality of the work and reputation of the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted: Milutin Felic is also in favor of a 2-year term of office]

In continuation of the session, the Central Committee also unanimously established the proposed decision that the drafting of a new LCY program should begin. Boris Muzevic explained the proposal. The delegates to the forthcoming 14th extraordinary LCY Congress will vote on the proposal. A new program should be adopted at the following, the 15th, party congress.

Today the Central Committee adopted the proposed regulations for the work of the 14th extraordinary congress. Darija Colaric proposed that discussions at the congress should be limited to 10 minutes and replies to 3 minutes. We do not need "philosophical discussions," she explained in her proposal.

The adoption of a report on cadre preparations for the election of organs for the 14th extraordinary congress caused severe protests from several delegates against the social composition of candidates.

Krste Markovski said that among the candidates there are only 19 workers, while from Slovenia and Croatia there are no workers from the immediate production sector.

Markovski also presented other information about candidates—among them there are 42 directors, or 25 percent, the same number of individuals with PhD's; sociopolitical communities proposed 32 individuals; the Army, among others, recommended 10 generals for candidates; on the lists there are also three pensioners, two members of a youth organization, and one student.

Workers constitute 35 percent of the LC members but do not appear on lists of candidates. [passage omitted: another delegate agrees with Markovski's views on the absence of workers; two members agree that there should be more workers on lists of proposed candidates and fewer directors]

Concluding the debate, Stefan Korosec said that these facts are true. The structure of proposed candidates for the organs of the congress is not satisfactory. This is the result of the republican congresses and provincial conferences, which proposed candidates and before the congresses we called their attention to this but there were no changes. Let each Central Committee assess what they can do to improve the social structure, Korosec said.

Continuing the session, the LCY Central Committee adopted, without a debate, a report on the estimated funds and problems involved in ensuring them, for the financing of the 14th extraordinary party congress and criteria for inviting visiting guests to the congress. [passage omitted: members postpone three items on the agenda for their next session due to lack of time; members discuss technical regulations for electing congress delegates from Montenegro; they are not elected at the republican congress]

Finally, because of a high number of initiatives and the proposal by the Congress of Croat Communists that due to the short time left for preparations, the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress should be postponed, Stefan Korosec presented the stand of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that this meeting should still be held on the already announced dates, 20-22 January next year. The Central Committee endorsed the Presidium's stand. [passage omitted: Director of the Josip Broz Tito political school speaks about financial difficulties of his institution]

With this the 29th 2-day session of the LCY Central Committee ended its work.

Congress Document Adopted

AU2712133889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] has adopted the proposal of a congress document on the transformation of the League of Communists [LC]. This congress document was adopted unanimously without prior discussion on the positions adopted at the recent congress of the Slovene Communists, although several members of the Central Committee held the view that this would be impossible considering that these conclusions define the League of Communists as a league of leagues.

In view of that, it was decided that the Presidium of the CC of the LCY should discuss, in one of its future sessions, the controversial positions of the Slovene congress. The discussion will be held on the bases of the text of the positions adopted at the congress of the Slovene LC and the information of the Presidium of the CC of the Slovene LC in order, as said, to avoid different interpretations.

LCY To Exclude Guests From Upcoming Congress

LD0401171190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—At a session held on 3 January, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium related its decision on inviting representatives of foreign parties and movements to attend the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY. During the final preparations for the congress it was recognized that it should be strictly a working meeting concentrating on the issues of social reforms and internal relations within the LCY, and on defining new program orientations for the LCY. Taking into consideration the significance of the difficulties in financing the congress, the Presidium, therefore, decided not to invite foreign guests.

The presidium feels sure that its decision will be properly interpreted by foreign parties and movements, and by the Yugoslav public at large. Foreign partners and the public will be informed about the work and results of the congress through the public press and appropriate publications which will carry the positions and decisions of the congress. All progressive parties and movements with which the LCY cooperates will be sent the documents of the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress.

LCY Plenum Said to Ignore 'Crucial Topics'

AU0401121190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 89 p 8

[Commentary by Branislav Boskov reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE: "Hot Potato"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] has shown many times that it does not like hot potatoes. It does not like them even in the cases when it was clear that it had lit, or helped to light, the fire under those potatoes itself. This fact became obvious at the last Central Committee session held this year, when members of the LCY Central Committee agreed not to put "the current political situation in the country and the tasks of the League of Communists" on the agenda. At first, the Central Committee planned to discuss this topic, of most interest to the people and nationalities of the SFRY, at the end of the session and then abandoned it altogether.

How is one to interpret this act of ignoring current, vital, and perhaps even crucial topics? One answer could be that the Central Committee has obeyed the demand of its Presidium and the SFRY presidency, concerning the need to calm the situation, and instead of stoking the fire, has done everything to localize it, if not even to extinguish it. Something similar was hinted at by Milan Pancevski when he commented on the adopted agenda by saying that the members of the LCY Central Committee will in fact discuss the subject covered by the "removed" item during the debate on the documents prepared for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

There is no doubt, the situation must be calmed down, but it is impossible to do so by abandoning the search for an efficient solution. It is logical that the call to calm down the situation should be interpreted primarily—albeit not exclusively—as cooling down heated passions which cloud views and make it difficult for any reasonable views to come to the fore. However, this should by no means mean giving up the debate of opinions.

Postponing dialogue was hardly ever productive, because it always means postponing actions that can lead out of the political maze through which the League of Communists has been rambling during recent years. One can accept the explanation that the 14th Extraordinary Congress will be an opportunity to hold a comprehensive, complete, and hopefully final debate, in fact, an opportunity to decide what road is to be taken. However, can one start the congress with such differing views about most essential matters and having (at least) two concepts of how socialist Yugoslavia should develop?

The situation that appeared in connection with the Ljubljana meeting—that is, the breakage of links between Serbia and Slovenia, simply must not be pushed aside as something for which there is no time—because of the planned republican and provincial party congresses—as Milan Pancevski tried to explain. On the contrary, this is a topic which could show who is "of the right kind." That would be done at the Central Committee session at which members will be "differentiated," to use the expression so frequently mentioned of late.

Analysis of LCY Reveals Membership Decline

LD0101164190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1550 GMT 1 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 1 (TANJUG)—The social and economic crises in Yugoslavia, constantly being aggravated by the problem of the province of Kosovo, have decimated the ranks of the communist party and had the greatest influence on the loss of its avant-garde role.

This is confirmed by a recent analysis by the social research centre of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, which found that the number of new members is nowhere near large enough to make up for those leaving the party.

According to some estimates, in 1989 alone about one hundred thousand LCY members chose to terminate their party memberships. When all "official" and "unofficial" figures are added up, the LCY lost about 600,000 members in the past seven years—one quarter of the total membership in its record year, 1983, when it had 2,177,089 members.

The membership decline is the most pronounced in the Republic of Slovenia, where only one of 13 citizens was a party member in 1989, compared with one out of six in Montenegro, where that percentage was highest.

The analysis also found that the percentage of LCY members who declared themselves as Yugoslavs has grown considerably in the past few years—their current figure of about [illegible]2,000 places them third following Serbs and Croats.

The membership decline is not the only cause for alarm in Yugoslavia's Communist Party—statistical data about its social structure indicate that although it calls itself the "vanguard of the working class," the LCY is the party of the working class least of all. About [number indistinct] workers opted to leave the LCY over the past seven years—almost half of their total number in its ranks.

Those who have retained the greatest level of loyalty to the party are various administrators and high officials—who leave the LCY almost without fail only when compelled to.

Another problem is [words indistinct] of the LCY—seven years ago almost one-third of all party members were under the age of 27, and that figure has now dropped to only 15 per cent, the analysis found.

Preparing for the fortthcoming 14th emergency congress of the LCY, all republican and provincial party organizations have already had their say about the position of the federal party, almost unanimously renouncing the communists' right to a monopoly and leading role in society. However, differences remain in attitudes towards the profile [words indistinct] should take up in the new, altered, circumstances.

In contrast to the advocates of the old thesis of the LCY as a party representing primarily the rights of the working class, communists from Yugoslavia's western republics, Slovenia and Croatia, are pointing to the altered situation in society, in which the social structure of the working class and every concept of class have changed—and thus also the representative role of the LCY.

The forthcoming congress of the LCY in Belgrade from January 20 through 22 is certain to focus on these important issues, the solution to which mostly depends on whether the spirit of confidence and togetherness can again take a leading role in the LCY.

This is why the public has already dubbed the forthcoming party gathering the "congress of unity" and the "congress of survival."

Vico, Bajec Point Out Agreement on Issues

LD1412221389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Too little attention is being paid among the domestic and foreign public to the fact that as the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] extraordinary congress approaches, the stances of the individual parts of the LCY are growing closer. On many important issues over which we were previously in conflict, we have now achieved agreement or moved closer together. This was stressed today at a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists in the international press center in Belgrade by Ratomir Vico and Dr Jurij Bajec, member of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium.

In a discussion in connection with the 11th congress of the Serbian LC that begins tomorrow, they underlined that they hoped that agreement would be reached on the remaining questions on which there was no agreement in the LCY by the time of the congress and at the congress.

Ratomir Vico said that there is considerable rapprochement on the question of political pluralism, the place of the citizen in the political system, the principle of one man, one vote, and the foundation of a chamber of labor, even though until recently stances on these issues were completely opposed.

In Slovenia, for example, they are not now resolutely against the principle of one man, one vote, while in Serbia there is readiness to make certain modifications over the number of delegates in the federal parliament to guarantee the national equality of the numerically smaller nations, Vico said.

He stressed that the Serbian LC is in favor of the free association of citizens in all spheres, including the political sphere. Serbia will not prevent political competition by means of administrative measures, but the Serbian LC will not itself initiate the formation of other parties, forums, or similar association of citizens because these would then probably only be extensions of the LC.

In reply to the direct question as to whether the Serbian LC will permit the formation of the announced democratic party in Serbia, Vico replied that he sees no reason why this party should not be registered, provided that there is nothing contentious in its program and that there are no formal or legal impediments. The restrictions on the formation of new parties or associations in Serbia will not be any greater than those normally applied in the world—the activity of those that incite national, racial, or religious hatred or act against the integrity of the country cannot be permitted, Vico explained.

He added that in Serbia pluralism is not associated exclusively with the multiparty system and that account is taken of the self-managing culture achieved. Serbia calls for complete social reform because it is clear to us that there can be no success for economic reform without political reform, nor can reform of the LC and political reform, for example, succeed without radical economic changes, Vico continued.

The issue on which there is still not complete agreement in the LCY is the question of democratic centralism. In most republican party organizations they are in agreement with us, except in the Slovene LC where they are advocating consensus on all essential issues and insisting at the same time that the republican LC organizations themselves decide what those crucial issues are. However, we accept an important change in the present practice—the minority is allowed to fight for its opinion, the leadership and individuals are assessed and called to account regardless of their level in the hierarchy, but for the sake of work efficiency and prevention of obstructionism on the party of the minority, we insist on the binding nature of decisions passed by the majority.

Jurij Bajec said that he is convinced that Yugoslavia can only get out of the crisis with significant economic changes and development, and he underlined that the call for equality of ownership is not just an empty phrase. It is logical that much attention should be devoted to social ownership considering that in that sector about 80 percent of the social product of the republic is realized.

Bajec said that there are still no clear solutions as to the nature of social ownership, particularly the question of ownership relations and the efficiency of the social sector.

Speaking about Kosovo, Bajec and Vico stressed that it is not true that present policies have not yielded results, but that considering the depth of the roots of the Kosovo crisis, time and a lot more work are needed for a more significant stabilization of the situation. It was stressed that economic development is an important factor for overall positive changes in Kosovo, but it was noted that this is not enough, as some maintain, because it ignores the time factor and the threat of Kosovo becoming ethnically pure, as well as the obligation of the state to guarantee its citizens security and freedom. Bajec added that the time is ripe for a considered population policy and family planning in Kosovo.

Explaining the conflict that has arisen between the republics of Serbia and Slovenia, Ratomir Vico said that this is the result of the behavior of the Slovene leadership, or rather the violation of human rights and freedoms. He added that Serbia is calling for talks as soon as possible, because this is the only way to resolve the problems. Jurij Bajec also spoke on this subject, stressing that the question of the transfer of income from some to other parts of Yugoslavia has long been "simmering" and that it is time to seriously and "soberly" examine it.

Asked to comment on the idea of founding a new communist party of Yugoslavia, Vico said that it would be tragic if it was formed as a result of national conflicts, according to some geographical line in Yugoslavia, dividing communists in advance into the democratic and the undemocratic. If this idea has some other background, it would not be unacceptable.

In reply to the question as to why northwestern Yugoslavia refers to rallies of Serbs as Stalinist, Vico said that it is a question of the conscious dissemination of fear of Serbia, so that in those environments certain ideas are accepted that would not be otherwise.

End